# ÄGYPTISCHE URKUNDEN

aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Griechische Urkunden, XVI. Band

# THE ARCHIVE OF ATHENODOROS

(and assorted documents of the Augustan period)

edited by

William M. Brashear

STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN - PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ

BERLIN 1995





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Corpus. BGU 26



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#### Preface

From 1975 to 1981 the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft financed a project to retrieve papyri from the cartonnage coffins in West Berlin's Egyptian Museum. Instead of a whole coffin, a single coffin fragment was dismantled. Still it produced enough material for an entire BGU volume. These documents along with various odd pieces from disparate sources – all from Ptolemaic Egypt – were published in BGU XIV (see the introduction there). During the latter years of the same project, another coffin fragment was taken apart, producing again enough material for an entire BGU volume. The documents from this second coffin, together with the occasional odd piece from other sources, make up the contents of the present volume, thus presenting the final results of the project initiated twenty years ago and so generously funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

This coffin fragment produced a group of documents comprising an ensemble which for convenience' sake can best be labelled the "Athenodoros archive". For the most part, this archive consists of letters written by or addressed to a certain Athenodoros, *dioicete* over probably a sub-provincial district in the Herak-leopolite nome in the middle years of Augustus's rule. Other letters and documents, official and private, while nowhere bearing directly on the person of Athenodoros and his correspondants, nonetheless are written sometimes by the same scribes who wrote the letters in the Athenodoros archive, concern the same persons and date from the same period. These are the most complete and comprehensible texts taken from the coffin section. In addition, dozens of fragments, neatly cut in half either length-wise or cross-wise, and upper or lower right or left corner sections of letters, all obviously belonging to the same archive, were also recovered from the same coffin.

After discovering that the Demosthenes speech out of this coffin, P. 21284, was part of the same sheet as P. 16895 (published by W. Müller, Forschungen u. Berichte 10 [1968] 128f.), it seemed a good idea to check the adjacent numbers for related papyri. W. Müller and G. Poethke kindly allowed me access to the papyri in the collection on their side of the still-divided city. My suspicions were soon confirmed. I was able to join a few of the newly discovered texts with the corresponding sections which had been extracted from cartonnage and inventoried by our predecessor papyrologists in Berlin at the beginning of the century. Unfortunately, a number of papyri in the same series (P. 16902–16913) have disappeared without a trace. One wonders if they too would have provided some fragments belonging to Athenodoros's archive. It seems senseless to publish the numerous, disparate, unjoined fragments until their missing sections someday

should have been recovered from whatever coffin section they might happen still to be lying in, hidden from view. (See on the dispersion of fragments of the same document in different pieces of cartonnage: O. Guéraud, P. Enteuxis, p. x; H. Cadell, P. Sorbonne 46 introd.; J. Scherer, YCS 28 [1985] 57.)

In addition to the Athenodoros archive whose documents date from 21/20 B.C. to 5 A.D., this coffin section also produced a magical text (P. 21243: ZPE 33 [1979] 261ff.), a Greek-Latin word list (P. 21246: Congr. 16, 31–41) and the aforementioned speech of Demosthenes (P. 21284: ZPE 48 [1982] 61f.). An anomaly among all the documents from the Athenodoros archive of Augustan date is P. 25263, an oath by a catoecic cavalry soldier dating to 52 B.C. This is the earliest dated text from this source, and it will be published in a volume of contemporary Ptolemaic documents.

Another group of disparate documents comprises those papyri which were evidently extracted from cartonnage at the beginning of this century and deposited in boxes for safe-keeping. The boxes survived the vicissitudes of World War II and eventually landed in the Ägyptisches Museum (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin) where they were rediscovered during the research project financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. These are: 2559, 2560–2576, 2577, 2665, 2672, 2673, 2674.

From other sources: 2588, 2589.

The extremely time-consuming and delicate operations of dismantling the mummy cases, extracting their constituent papyri and finally straightening them out, cleaning their surfaces of all foreign material, pressing them flat, and finally placing the papyri to be published between glass plates were capably and masterfully executed by Jürgen Hofmann, papyrus restorer in the Ägyptisches Museum. The excellent reproductions are due to the professional skill of the same museum's photographer, Margarete Büsing.

Many and heartfelt thanks to Joan Christman for perspicacious proof-reading and saving me from numerous errors. Likewise, to Hermann Harrauer and Christian Wildberg for formatting this work on the computer and for otherwise often coming to my rescue when I was at the end of my electronic rope.

Finally, special thanks to Jörg Aigner of Mega-Satz-Service (Berlin) who devoted much time and energy, spit and polish, putting this book into its final form.

Berlin 1995 Wm. Brashear

# Table of Papyri

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#### **Abbreviations**

The abbreviations correspond generally to those cited in LSJ (= Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed., List of Abbreviations III–IV, pp. xlii–xlvi) and LSJ Supplement, pp. x–xi. For editions of papyri and ostraca see J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis and K.A. Worp, Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca, 3rd ed. (= BASP Suppl. 4), 1985.

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#### **Journals and Series**

ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.

APF = Archiv für Papyrusforschung. ASP = American Studies in Papyrology.

BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists. BSAA = Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie.

CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Egyptologie de Lille.

LdÄ = Lexikon der Ägyptologie.

MB = Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte.

NDIEC = New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity.

OGIS = Wilhelmius Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, Leipzig 1903.

RAC = Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.

RE = Paulys Realencyclopäedie der classischen Altertumswisenschaft.

SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.

SB = Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten.
SPP = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde.
ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

#### **Editorial conventions:**

••••	unread letters
[] or [αβγδ]	lacuna
αβγδ	uncertain, unclear letters
(αβγδ)	resolved symbol or abbreviation
\αβγδ/	supralinear insertion
<αβγδ>	erroneous omission
[αβγδ]]	deletion
{αβνδ}	superfluous letters

Accents and punctuation, unless otherwise noted, are modern additions to the transcriptions. Lectional signs on the original texts are noted either in the apparatus criticus or the line notes, as are orthographical faults, etc. Numbers in bold face indicate papyri in the series Berliner Griechische Urkunden. The first measurement indicates the maximum height, the second the maximum width. The word verso, as it is employed in this volume, designates the vertical fibers of the papyrus bearing either the address of the letters or secondary entries in the accounts.

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#### **2558 Edict**

P. 25384 15 x 14.7 cm. Herakleopolites July 22, 12

Margins: upper 2.2, left 1.8, lower 2.5, right 0.5–3.4 cm. The writing is similar to that of PSI X 1160 = Montevecchi, Papirologia, tav. 30; and P. Mich. inv. 1674 in BASP 21 (1984) 84. Verso is devoid of writing.

The present document is the earliest known edict from Roman Egypt. Given the fragmentary state of the papyrus, determining its nature is well nigh impossible. Even the few tantalizing bits that can be pieced together do not lead to anything really conclusive. Someone is accused of making a pretense of something (ll. 3–4). The former prefect Barbarus and a companion (-calper?) are mentioned (l.4). Enigmatic is the juxtaposition of a cloak and a trip through the provinces (ll. 5–6). The penalties for persons caught acting contrary to this edict will be arrest and punishment (ll. 6–8). Anyone who is caught red-handed will be handed over to the prefect (ll. 8–9).

R. Katzoff, "Sources of Law in Roman Egypt: the Role of the Prefect," ANRW II 13, 820, summarizes the external characteristics of the prefectural edict: 1) prefect's name (in early Augustan Egypt there is no address or greeting); 2)  $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \iota = dicit$ ; 3) the edict proper, (without addressee or greeting) treating usually a single subject; 4) threat of a severe penalty for violation; 5) date (no concluding salutation precedes it). The present document adheres precisely to these criteria. Cf. Katzoff 810, for a list of edicts from Roman Egypt.

...[ ± 16 ] οκλος λέγει α όρων .[ ± 16 ] οις νομοῖς γινόμεν [οι]ς τωτιναε[ ± 16 ] γκότων σχῆμα ὑποδυ-ομένου [ ± 16 ] οκαλπερ καὶ Βάρβαρος
5 [ὁ] ἡγεμων....[ ± 13 ]. φαινόλη περιπατεῖν
[ἐ]ν τοῖς νομοῖς πλ[ ± 10 ] μένοις ἔξεστιν ὥστ' ἂν
[πα]ρὰ ταῦτα ποιήση [±10 ]ς προστ[ά]ξα[ν]τος κολασθήσεται συνλαβάνειν [.].[±7] λύπτους καὶ πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα μετὰ σαφίας το[ὺ]ς φωραθέντας.
10 (ἔτους) ι [ζ]η Καίσαρος Ἐ[φ]εὶφ κ̄η

] οκλος: Τhe κακοδαίμων of papyrologists has played a particularly spiteful prank here and deprived us of the name of the prefect in office between P. Rubrius Barbarus and C. Turranius.

λέγει: Cf. M. Benner, The Emperor Says: Studies in the Rhetorical Style in Edicts of the Early Empire, Gothenberg 1975.

4 ] | οκαλπερ : The only possibility would seem to be a Latin name ending in -calper.

4-5 Βάρβαρος [o] ἡγεμωνεύσας would be the most appropriate reading, if one could make anything out of the traces. Cf. **2595**.2-3 n. The only attestations for Barbarus's period

in office derive from 15/14 and 13/12 B.C., without any more specific time references. At the time this edict was posted, however, he was no longer prefect. According to Robert Bennett, The Prefects of Roman Egypt, diss. Yale 1970, 163–166, no prefect at this time held office for more than four years. Hence, on the basis of **2595** (15/14 B.C.) and this document one can provisionally give P. Rubrius Barbarus a term in office from 16/15 to 13/12 B.C.

- 15 φαινόλη = Lat. *paenula*. Further attestations and discussion can be found in P. Yale 82.8 n.: P. Oxy. 4002.10 n.: Lauffer, Preisedikt, p. 267 s.v.
- 8 1. συλλαμβάνειν [τοὺς ἀπερικα]λύπτους aut sim.
- 9 σαφίας: addendum lexicis; or l. σαφ(ηνε)ίας?

# 2559 Sitologos Receipts

P. 25160 30.3 x 18.4 cm. Koma A.D. 1–9

Margins: upper 4.5, right 3–5.7, left 2, lower 5.3 cm. Interlinear spaces: lines 5–6: 3 cm; lines 11–12: 2 cm. Although one person seems to have written the first two entries (lines 1–5; 6–11), in the latter he used a different pen that was more blunt than normal. Verso blank.

Dioskurides and his colleagues, *sitologoi* in the village of Koma, certify to Taonnophris various payments *in natura* on the tax called μοναρταβία κατοίκων for three different and non-consecutive years. Although not a single receipt on this sheet is complete, the lacunae in an entry can usually be filled out using the information from the corresponding sections in other entries.

Various criteria indicate that the document in question represents an extract from a tax register: 1) Three different payments for three different years are recorded here on one papyrus – in reverse order of payment (first, for the 38th year of Augustus, then for the 32nd year and finally for the 31st year). 2) The entries are written by two different persons. 3) There are no official signatures, no specific dates of payments and no salutations at the end of the individual documents. Hence, these are not separate, individual tax receipts written on one papyrus, but rather extracts. Cf. R. Bagnall, K. Worp, APF 30 (1984) 79–82, for "multiple-receipt tax rolls".

These extracts from *sitologos*-receipts are the earlist evidence for such receipts from Roman Egypt and the first ones from the Herakleopolites ever. Parallels are listed in the commentaries to **2299**; P. Ups. Frid 4; P. Hamb. 208. The next oldest seem to be **787** (39/40 A.D.; Faijum); P. Oxy. 38.2842 (29 A.D.?; Herakleopolites?).

- - 5 δύο προσμλε/(τρουμένων) ἕκτον (γίν.) σύμ(παντι) (πυροῦ) βς΄

Translation

Διοσκουρί\δ/(ης) καὶ ᾿Απολ[...]. ᾿Αλέξαν\δ/(ρος) σιτο\λ/(όγοι) Κόμα Ταοννώφρι [.....] . χαίρειν. μεμετρή(μεθα) είς τὸ \δ/(ημόσιον) δι\ά/ λόγ(ου) [.].. (μοναρταβίας) κατ(οίκων)προσ\η/(γμένας)

 $\epsilon [i\varsigma \, \dot{\alpha}\rho] i\theta\mu \ln(\sigma i\nu) \, \tau \hat{\eta} \, \eta^- \tau o \hat{\upsilon} \, \Theta \omega \hat{\upsilon} \theta / \, .\mu \nu \ln(\varepsilon) \, \lambda \beta \, (\tilde{\varepsilon} \tau o \upsilon \varsigma)$ 

10 Καίσα[ρ]ος σύμπ\α/(ντι) πυρ\ο/(ῦ) ἀρτά\β/(ας) δύο τρίτον δωδέκατ\ο/(ν) (γίν.) σύμ(παντι) (πυροῦ) βγ΄ι΄β΄

 $(m.2)\Delta[ιοσκου]$ ρί $\delta/(ης)$  κ[αὶ .....] 'Αλέξαν $\delta/(ρος)$  σιτολ(όγοι) Κόμα Τα[οννώ]φρι [.....] . χ[αί(ρειν)] μεμετρή(μεθα) εἰς τὸ δ(ημόσιον) διὰ λόγου  $K[\acute{o}μα..]αν[]..[.]$   $ε[\acute{i}]ς ἀριθμή(σιν) τῆ ζ τοῦ Φαῶφι τ[.]$ 

15 [  $\pm$  10 ]ου....( ) .... λα (ἕτους) Καίσα[ρ]ος (μοναρτ.) κατ(οίκ.) [σύμπα(ντι) π]υρ(οῦ) ἀρτάβα(ς) δ[ύ]ο τρίτο(ν) δωδέκατο(ν) [(γίν.) σύμπα(ντι) (πυροῦ) β γ΄ ι΄β΄ ]

1,6,12 στό 2,8,13 -τρ ,τδ ,δὶ ,3,9,14 αριθμ 4 α κατ συμπ πυβ αρταβ 5/σῦ + 7 χ 8 α κατπροσ 9 μῦ 10 συμπ πυβ αρταβ 11,16 καθ / σῦ + 13 λοῦ

Kόμα: See BGU XIV, p. 220.

3-4 Ἐπεὶφ λη or Ἐπεὶφ α. c or Ἐπεὶφ απ: The strokes resemble more απ than λη. If it is, in fact, the 38th year here, then the date would be July 13, 9 A.D.

[± 6] Καίσαρος: What stood in the lacuna? Cf. Wallace, Taxation 13ff.; P. Ryl. 202a.8 n. on the one-artab-tax on catoecs. σύμπα(ντι)?: Cf. J. Shelton, P. Oxy. 3163.9 n.; or should one expand the abbreviation here according to P. Rain. Cent. 47.18: [συμπά]σας ... (ἀρτάβας)?

προσμε(τρουμένων): Cf. Wallace, Taxation 38f.; Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., pp. 231ff.; Schuman, Congr. 9, 254-6; id., "Taxes in Kind," in: Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni II, Milan 1957, 301-306; A. Gara, Prosdiagraphomena et la circolazione monetaria, Milan 1976, 26-43 passim. It is odd that the prosmetrumena are mentioned only here and not in the other sums in

lines 11 and 16. Are they maybe there included in the sum without being mentioned expressis verbis?

Διοσκουρίδ(ης): Cf. **2560–2576** where Dioskurides makes frequent appearance.

Sept. 9, 2 A.D.

Θωύθ ομνη()? Or σμνη()?, or Sμνη()? .σμνη() = ἐξάμηνος ?, ὑπ(ἐρ) γενή(ματος) ? The entries between the month name andthe year here and in ll. 3 and 14-15, which are not at all uniform in their makeup, are neither entirely satisfactorily deciphered nor explicable.

14–15 Another possible reading might be: Φαῶφι τ[.].[  $\pm$  10 ]ου ....σ( ) .μνη( ) λα (ἔτους) Kαίσαρος = October 4, 1 A.D. Cf. 1.9 n.

(Dioskurides, Apol- and Alexander?), sitologoi of (the village of) Koma, (greetings) to Taonnophris, daughter of N.N. We have had measured out to us into the state treasury on the account of Koma for the month's record on Epeiph 19 of the 38th (year ...) of Caesar for the one-artab-tax on catoecs, all told two artabs of wheat, and for additional payments one-sixth, makes all told  $2^{1}/_{6}$  (artabs of) wheat.

Dioskurides, Apol- (and Alexander?), sitologoi of (the village of) Koma, to Taonnophris, (daughter of N.N.), greetings. We have had measured out to us into the state treasury on the account of ... paid into the account for the one-artab-tax on catoecs on Thoth 19 of the 32nd year of Caesar, all told two and five-twelfths artabs of wheat, equals all told  $2^{5}/_{12}$  (artabs of) wheat.

To Dioskurides, (Apol-) and Alexander, sitologoi of (the village of) Koma, to Taonnophris, daughter of N.N., greetings. We have had measured out to us into the state treasury on the account of Koma ... paid into the account on Phaophi 7 ... of the 31st year of Caesar, for the one-artab-tax on catoecs, all told two and fivetwelfths artabs of wheat, (equals all told  $2^{5}/_{12}$  [artabs] of wheat).

# 2560-2576 **Orders for Seed Grain**

The following seventeen papyri are the earliest examples of orders for seed grain from Roman Egypt and thus to be inserted between the last attested Ptolemaic documents of the same genre (SB V 8755, 8756; 49–48 B.C.?) and the first heretofore attested Roman ones (P. Lond. II 256 e (p. 96) = Wilcken, Chrest. 344; 11 A.D.; P. Vindob. Tandem 9; 10 and 12 A.D.).

A unique feature of the Berlin papyri is the katasporeus-toparch issuing the directives. In many parallel documents the strategos acts in collaboration with the royal scribe or other officials (such as the phorologos in P. Vindob. Tandem 9.20, or another person or group of persons in P. Köln 137), and uniformity is not apparent. Since the *katasporeus-toparch* appears in this function throughout the six years covered in the Berlin documents (8/7-3/2 B.C.), it was evidently considered a completely normal state of affairs. Each official is also found acting independently in the same function as here, issuing orders for seed grain: the katasporeus in P. Oxy. 2185; the toparch in P. Lond. 256 d,e.

Depending on the year involved, two different individuals are attested issuing these orders: Heraclitos in the year 8/7, and Demetrios in the year 3/2.

The addressees involved are usually Dioskurides and his colleages, sitologoi in the village of Koma in 8/7 and 3/2 (cf. 2559). In 2575 of uncertain dating, other sitologoi seem to be at work. In one document (2567) a scribe appears as addressee in the countersigning order.

Just as in P. Oxy. 2185.15-17, in several of the Berlin documents the village scribe

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confirms the fact that the farmers receiving the seed grain actually farm the land they specify. In P. Köln 137 it is the *topogrammateus* who does the confirming.

2560

On the *katasporeus* see P. Petaus 52 introd., P. Wisc. II 62; P. Mon. III, pp. 126–127; Oertel, Liturgie 188. On the *toparch*, Oertel, Liturgie 162.

For parallel documents, pertinent literature and description of the course of events involved in these orders see R. Hübner, P. Köln 137 introd.; K. Worp, P. Sijpesteijn, P. Vindob. Tandem 9 introd.; D. and U. Hagedorn in: P. Coll. Youtie I 22; D. Samuel, *ibid.*, 26; P. Berl. Leihg. II 26; P. Berol. 11559: G. Poethke, Epimerismos (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 8), Brussels 1969, 93f. = SB X 10614.

#### 2560 .

P. 25187 17.4 x 12.8 cm. Herakleopolites 8/7

Margins: left 2 cm., upper 4.5 cm. The light brown papyrus has been pieced together from several fragments and is still extremely lacunose. *Kollesis ca.* 3 cm. from the right. The document was written with a thick pen in coarse, angular strokes. The same hand wrote **2561.** 

The 3.4 x 4.1 cm. fragment with two lines of writing by the same hand may not necessarily belong to this text, especially since one expects a different hand in the countersignature (here lines 12–13) – cf., for example, 2562, 2563. Verso blank.

'Η[ράκλιτος τοπάρ]χ\η/(ς) καὶ κατασπορεύ(ς)
Διοσκ[ο]υρίδ[ηι κα]ὶ τοῦ[ς] μετόχοι[ς] χαίρ⟨ε⟩ιν
μετ(ρήσατε) εἰ⟨ς⟩ σπέ[ρμ]ατα δάνεια τοῦ εἰς
τ[ὸ] κγ (ἔτος) Καίσ[αρος σπόρου] εἰς τὰς
5 σεσημμαμμένας [ὑπὸ τ]οῦ κωμογ\ρ/(αμματέως)
[τῆς κώ]μ[η]ς Μαχάτα Λιμναίου εἰς ᾶς
γεωργεῖ περὶ Τοοὺ ἐκ τοῦ Πτολεμαίο(υ)
κλ(ήρου) 'Ιερονίνων ἀρο(ύρας) ς καὶ ἐκ ⟨τοῦ⟩ Θεοδωρί-δο(υ) 'Αγήνορος ὑποτε(θεμένας) 'Επιφανί(ου) [κ]λ\ή/(ρφ) ιδ (γίν.)(ἄρ.) κ
10 πυροῦ ἀρτά(βας) δέκα (γίν.)[(πυροῦ ἀρτ.)] ι [ ]...

]..[ ------]προκειμ[ένας

] (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ι (ἔτους) κγ Καίσα[ρος

1-χ, -σπορεύ 3μετ 4 | 5κωμογβ 7-μαιό 8κλ, αρό, ε, 9δο, υποξ, -φανί, ... τδ/4,10 πυρό αρτ, / 132 - |

- 5 *l*. σεσημασμένας.
- 7 Tooύ: See **2440**.15 n.
- 8\_9 Cf. P. Mert. 85.13,29, for a holding belonging to a person with this name. The name is also attested in Pape.
- 9–10 According to Rostowzew, Kolonat 52, and Schnebel 125f., one artab per arura was the normal rate, although exceptions were not unknown see Schnebel 126. Here only <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> artab of seed grain per arura is given.

#### Translation

(Heraklitos, toparch) and katasporeus to Dioskurides and his colleagues, greetings. Measure out to Machatas, son of Limnaios, ten – 10 – artabs of wheat in seed loans of grain for (sowing) in the 23rd year of Caesar in the (plots) indicated by the village scribe (of the village), for the land which he farms near Tou: from the holding of Ptolemaios, son of Hieroninos (?), 6 aruras; from the holding of Theodorides, son of Agenor, allocated to the holding of Epiphanios, 14 aruras, equals 20 aruras; ten artabs of wheat equals 10 art. of wheat ... the aforementioned ... 10 artabs. Year 23 of Caesar ....

#### 2561

P. 25188 15.4 x 13 and 3.2 x 6.6 cm. Herakleopolites 8/7

Margins: upper 6.3, left 2, lower 2.5 cm. Kollesis 5 cm. from the left. This light brown, thick but nonetheless brittle, papyrus has been pieced together from several fragments and is still extremely lacunose. Written in the same hand as **2560**. Verso blank.

Ήράκλιτος τοπάρχλη/(ς) καὶ κατασπορε(ὺς) Διοσκ[ου-]
ρίδηι καὶ τοῖ[ς] μετόχοις χαίρ⟨ε⟩ιν. μετρ[ήσ(ατε)]
εἰ⟨ς⟩ σπέρματ[α δάνε]ια τοῦ εἰ[ς] τὸ κγ (ἔτος)
Καίσαρος σ[πόρου ε]ἰς τὰς σεσημμαμμένας ὑπὸ [τοῦ κ]ωμογραμματ[έ]ως

τῆς κώμ[ης ....]ανοσκο....[...]
περὶ Το[ο]ὺ εἰς [ὰ]ς [γεω]ργεῖ ἀπὸ βασιλικῆ(ς) γῆ(ς)
εἰκ/ (τοῦ) Πτολ[εμαίου] κλ.[(ήρου)] ἀρο(ύρας) γ καὶ ἐἰκ/ (τοῦ) Πύθωνο(ς) β
(γίν.) ε (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ε καὶ εἰς ὰς ἔχει κατοικικὰς [ἐκ (τοῦ)]

10 Σεύθ(ου) ἀρο(ύρας) [.....].( ) σεδ.....[.......]

κειμένας [πυροῦ ἀρτάβας (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος Τῦβι [

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# 1 -σπορέ 3 ∠ 7 -κ γ 8 αρο 9 / ← - 10 σευθ αρο 12 ∟

4-5 *l*. σεσημασμένας.

10 Σεύθ(ου): Cf. P. Flor. 385.39; PSI 687.4.

11–12 The texture of the papyrus, the color of the ink, the left margin – as much as is preserved of it – would all seem to indicate that this fragment belongs here. However, here where one expects a different hand, the writing seems to be identical with that of the foregoing order.

#### Translation

Heraklitos, toparch and katasporeus, to Dioskurides and his colleagues, greetings. Measure out in loans of seed grain for sowing in the 23rd year of Caesar, for the plots of royal land which he farms around Tou indicated by the village scribe of the village ...: from the former holding of Ptolemaios, 3 aruras; from the former holding of Python, 2 aruras, equals 5 aruras, makes 5 (artabs) of wheat ... and for the catoecic land from the former holding of Seuthes, ... aruras ... Year 23 of Caesar, Tybi ....

#### 2562

P. 25189 10 x 12.3 cm.; 9.8 x 14.5 cm. Herakleopolites 8/7

Margins: upper 6.8 cm., left 4 cm. Like the foregoing examples, this papyrus has been reconstructed from numerous fragments yet still shows more lacunae than text. The script is cursively written in exceedingly fine, wispy traces. The same person also penned the main document in 2563, 2564, 2568, 2572(?) and 2576 (?). Verso blank.

- ['Ηράκλιτος] τοπάρχης καὶ κατασπορεὺς Διοσκου(ρίδη) καὶ
   [τοῖς μετόχοι]ς σιτολόγοις Κόμα χ[(αίρειν)]. μετρή(σατε) 'Απολλ\ω/()
   [±8 εἰς σπ]ἐρ(ματα) δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ κγ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος
   [.[
- 5 σπ[ό]ρ[ου ] .ισ[ ].[
  περὶ "Αγ\η/(μα) ..... 'Αχιλλέ\ω/(ς) πρ[.].[ ].[ ]
  ἀρουρ( ) μηL απ.η( ) ἐκ (τοῦ) Διοδ\ω/( ) [α]L (γίν.) ν, πυροῦ [ ]
  κ...[ ](γίν.)(ἀρτ.) ν. καὶ λάβετε παρ' αὐ[τοῦ τὰς καθηκ(ούσας)]
  χειρογραφίας.

(m. alt.)

10 Ἡράκλιτος τοπάρχ∖η/(ς) καὶ κατασπορεύ(ς). μέτρ\η/(σον)
τὰ[ς προκ]ειμ[ένας] πυροῦ ἀρτά[β(ας) πεντ]ή[κ]οντα (γίν.) [(πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ν]
]..[
[(ἔτους)] κγ Καίσ[αρος

# 1-κ 2 μετρ 3 L 5 + 6 αρουρ μη L Δ η ω, L/ν 7/6 8 L 9 - οπορε

- <sup>8</sup> Άγ\η/( $\mu\alpha$ ): See **2370**.37 n., **2392**.2 n., BGU XIV, pp. 221f., P. Hels. I 6.2 n., 18.2 n., Falivene 206.
- 8 χειρογραφίας: See Wilcken, APF (1903) 46.1; Seidl, Eid I, 69ff.; and Taubenschlag, Sale 516.31, on these "written imperial oaths."

#### Translation

(Heraklitos), toparch and katasporeus, to Dioscurides and (his colleagues), sitologoi of Koma, greetings. Measure out to Apollo- ... 50 artabs in seed loan for the 23rd year of Caesar ... near Agema ...  $48^{1}/_{2}$  aruras, ... from the former holding of Diodo-,  $1^{1}/_{2}$  aruras, total 50. Take from him (the accustomed) written imperial oaths.

Heraklitos, toparch and katasporeus. Measure out the aforesaid fifty artabs of wheat, total (50 art. of wheat) ... (Year 23) of Caesar ....

#### 2563

P. 25190 22.2 x 17 cm. Herakleopolites 8/7

Margins: left 5 cm., upper 1.8 cm., lower 7 cm. *Kollesis* almost flush with the right edge. The main document is written in a fluid cursive script, similar to the one on **2567**. The countersigning is done in a more angular style reminiscent of the hand that wrote **2560** and **2561**. Verso blank.

['Ηράκλιτος τοπάρχης και κατασπ]ορεὺς Διοσκ[ο]υ[ρίδ]ηι και τ[οῖ]ς μετόχοις σιτολ[ό]γ[οι]ς Κόμα χ(αίρειν). μετρ\ή/(σατε) 'Ηρα\κ/() Πετε\χ/() εἰς σπέρμα(τα) δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ κγ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος σπόρου ε[ἰς ὰς]

[σεση(μ.) ὑπὸ ]της Κ[.]. κ(ωμο)γρ(αμματέως) γεω(ρ)γ(εῖ) περὶ Κόμα

βασ(ιλ.)
γῆς αρ\ο/() ἐ\κ/ (τοῦ) ᾿Αγαθ..() (ἀρούρας) βL (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβα(ς)
δύο ἥ[μι]συ (γίν.) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) βL. καὶ λάβετε παρ᾽ αὐτού
τὰς καθηκού(σας) χει(ρογραφίας).

(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος [ ]

10 (m.2) μετρή(σατε) τὰς προκειμένας πυροῦ ἀ[ρτάβας] δύο ἥμισυ (γίν.) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) βL (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος ʿA[θὺρ..]

23

3 χ μετρ , σπερμ 4 L 5 μ + γ κλ 6 αρταβ 7/ τ 8 -ηκ χετ 9 L 10 μετ 11/ ] ... . L

3-4 εἰς σπέρμα(τα) δάνεια: Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 73, discusses the regional variants in this formula.

Cf. 2570.7: ]οτης Κομα κωμογρα[.

The abbreviated word between  $\gamma \hat{\eta} \zeta$  and  $\hat{\epsilon} \kappa$  still defies all attempts at a satisfactory decipherment. It seems to be the same configuration used in **2575**.3 for (μέτρ)η(σον) and in **2562**.6 for "Αγ\η/(μα).

7 λάβετε κτλ.: Cf. Seidl, Eid I 69ff.

Apart from a few exceptions these orders were generally issued in Hathyr, as Schnebel 138 noted. P. Vindob. Tandem 9 and P. Köln 137 conform to this rule.

#### Translation

(Heraklitos, toparch and katasporeus), to Dioskurides and his colleagues, sitologoi of Koma, greetings. Measure out to Herak-, son of Pete-, two and a half artabs –  $2^{1}/_{2}$  art. – in seed loans for sowing in the 23rd year of Caesar in the  $2^{1}/_{2}$  aruras of royal land ... formerly belonging to Agath-, which, according to the village scribe of Koma, he farms near Koma, and take from him the accustomed written imperial oaths. Year 23 of Caesar ...

Measure out the aforementioned two and a half (artabs) of wheat, total  $2^{1}/_{2}$  art. of wheat. Year 23 of Caesar, Hathyr ....

# 2564

P. 25191 13.8 x 14 cm. Herakleopolites 3/2?

Margins: upper 7.5 cm., left 3.5. *Kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the right edge. Only the uppermost section of this seed order could be retrieved from the mass of fragments. The script is similar to, but not quite the same as, those of the aforegoing two documents. Verso blank.

Δημήτριος τοπάρχης και κατασπορεὺς  $\Delta ιοσκλου/(ρίδη) καί τοῖς μετόχοις σιτολόγοις \\ [Κ]όμα χ(αίρειν). μετρλή/(σατε) συνεπιστέ(λλοντος) τοῦ <math>β$ (ασ.) γρ(αμματέως)

[.....]μν πατρ[ 5 [ ? εἰς τὸ κη (ἔτος)] Καί[.]..[

1 Δημήτριος: Cf. **2565.l**, **2571**, **2573**.

2 Cf. **2427**.6 for parallels to this constellation of *omicron* and *upsilon*.

3 συνεπιστέ(λλοντος) τοῦ β(ασιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως): Cf. 2565.3.

4 ]μγι or ]αγι? Παπ[ or Πατυ[?: The farmer to whom the seed grain is being dispensed; cf. 2565.4.

#### Translation

Demetrios, toparch and katasporeus, to Dioskurides and his colleagues, sitologoi of Koma, greetings. Measure out in accordance with the corresponding orders of the royal scribe ....

#### 2565

P. 25192 14.8 x 8.5; 9.8 x 6.7; 2.2 x 2.2 cm. Herakleopolites 3/2

Margins: upper 3, lower 4.5 cm. Another pastiche of numerous, thick, coarse fragments. The script of the main document is a practiced, fluid cursive written in thick strokes. It may be the same as in the main documents 2569 and 2571; it is definitely the same as that of 2573. The countersigning hand is more angular, similar to the one that wrote 2560 and 2561. Verso blank.

Δημήτρι[ος τοπά]ρχης καὶ [κατασπορεὺς]
Διοσκ'νου/(ρίδη) καὶ τοῖς μετό[χοις χα(ίρειν).]
μετρ\ή/(σατε) συνεπιστ(έλλοντος) τοῦ βα(σιλ.) γρ(αμ.) 'Αδρ[
...() "Απιος τῶν ἀ[π]ὸ Πεεναμοι [εἰς σπέρματα]

δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ κη (ἔτος) Καίσαρος σπ[όρου traces κ(ωμο)γρ(αμματεως) γε\ωρ/(γεῖ) ιβ[.]..[]
 []ησφ\υ/() ἐκ (τοῦ) ᾿Απολλ\ω/(νίου) β α..[
 [Κ]άστορος α (γίν.) (ἄρου.) ις ...[

-----

].κου() .[

10 καθηκούσα]ς χειρογραφ[ίας. (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος

(m. alt.)] προκειμένας π[υροῦ ἀρτάβας]. (γίν.) .. ε (ἔτους) κη Καί[σαρος

# 2- 12 3 person, up 5 L 6 mm 7 7 7 = 8 | 9 12/0

3 Ραρ. συνεπιστ

4 Ποεναμοι?: Cf. **1849**.6: Ποεναμις; **2429**.2: Πεεναμις; **2437**.4; P. Hels. I 16 A 28: Πεενσαμοι – all quite similar to, but none exactly the same as, this name.

7 κώμ]ης Φῦ(ς) ?

25

9f. The spatial relationship of this fragment to the main text is uncertain, since the readings of the first two lines are not entirely satisfactory. The same configuation in line 9 here can be seen in 2571.1 where its interpretation presents no problem. Here, however, one is not prepared for so much space between the two words καθηκού(σας) χειρογραφίας.

#### Translation

Demetrios, toparch and (katasporeus), to Dioskurides and his colleagues, (greetings). Measure out in accordance with the corresponding order of the royal scribe, to Adrastos (?), son of Apis, one of the inhabitants of Peenamoi, (for the seed) loans for the 28th year of Caesar for the sowing ... (indicated by) the village scribe (for the ... aruras which) he farms (near the village) of Phys (?): 2 aruras from the former holding of Apollonios, ..., 1 from the former holding of Kastor, total 16 aruras ... (the accustomed imperial) written oaths. (Year 28 of Caesar ...) ... the aforementioned ... (artabs of wheat) ... Year 28 of Caesar ....

2566

P. 25193 6.5 x ll cm. Herakleopolites Nov. 26, 3

Margins: left 2–2.5, lower 2.5, right 0.7 cm. Only the lowermost section of this document is preserved. The script is a jagged, angular one. Verso blank. Since this document was written in the 28th year of Augustus, the same Demetrios as in 2565 was responsible for issuing it.

παρ' α[ὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκούσας χειρογραφίας.]
μετρήσατε τάς προκειμέν[ας]
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ
τέσσαρες, ὀλύρης ἀρτάβας τριάκοντα (γίν.) (πυρ.) πδ, ὀλ(ύρας) λ
(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος 'Αθὺρ λ

5/7.1061

- 4 *l.* ὀλύρας. Cf. **2391**.4 n.
- 6 The *eta* has been written over. Either the scribe mistakenly started writing *kappa* or else the first *eta* was too faint, and he decided to rewrite it in darker strokes.

#### Translation

... from him the accustomed written imperial oaths. Measure out the aforesaid eighty-four artabs of wheat and the thirty artabs of caffre-corn (Indian millet), total 84 art. of wheat, 30 art. of caffre-corn. Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 30.

2567

P. 25194 13 x 18 cm. Herakleopolites Dec. 2, 5

Margins: left 4, lower 7, right 1–5.5 cm. Coarse, light brown papyrus with a strip of vertical fibers 3.5 cm. wide pasted onto the right; the line ends run onto it. The first hand is similar to the first one of **2563.** Verso blank.

(ἔτους) λε Καίσαρος Χ\οι/(ὰκ) ς

(m. alt.) Πολυδεύκη γραμματ(ε)î. ἐπισταλήτω τὴν προκειμένην πυροῦ ἀρτάβην μίαν (γίν.) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) α. (ἔτους) λε Καίσαρος Χ\οι/(ὰκ) ζ

1 | , × 4/

Translation

Year 35 of Caesar, Choiak 6.

To Polydeukes, scribe. Send the aforementioned one artab of wheat, total 1 artab. Year 35 of Caesar, Choiak 6.

2568

P. 25435 14.7 x 7 cm. Herakleopolites 8/7

Margins: lower 6.7 cm. Coarse, light brown papyrus. Verso blank.

The same hand that wrote the main text of 2563 also wrote the main body of this document. The last two lines were written by the same person who countersigned in 2563 and are similar to the script of the main documents in 2560 and 2561. Since it was written in Augustus's 23rd year, Heraklitos was the official responsible for issuing it.

(m.1)] traces

1. traces

]. π[υρ]οῦ ἀρτάβ(ας) δέκα ] καὶ λάβετε παρ' α[ὐτο]ῦ τὰς

27

5 καθη]κ\ού/(σας) χειρογρ(αφίας)

] (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος 'Αθ(ὑρ)  $\bar{\iota}\beta$ 

(m.2) ] προκειμένας ] δέ[κα] (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος Αθ(ὑρ)  $\iota\theta^-$ 

# 5 καθηκ χειροπ 6 L 8 αθ

8 ιθ or ιδ?: Gamma it is definitely not; perhaps delta. An interval of two days would be more in keeping with the practice of countersigning these orders relatively soon after they had been issued; an interval of a week would be highly unusual.

#### Translation \*

... ten artabs of wheat ... and take from him the accustomed imperial written oaths. Year 23 of Caesar, Hathyr 12 ... the aforementioned ten (artabs of wheat). Year 23 of Caesar, Hathyr 19 (?).

## 2569

P. 25436 14.7 x 15.5 cm. Herakleopolites Nov. 25, 26, 3

Margins: right 2, lower 5.5 cm. One *kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the right edge and another 0.8 cm. from the right – although the possibility that the latter is simply another layer of the cartonnage cannot be excluded.

This document was written during Demetrios's administration by the same person who wrote **2571**. The same person countersigned here as in **2563** and maybe in **2571**.

(m.1) συνε]πισ(τέλλ.) βα(σ.) γρ(αμματέως) .[
 Κ]όμα δ ἄπερ ἐκ (τοῦ) Επιαραλ.[
 ἀρούρ]ας ιε (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) δεκαπέντε (γίν.) (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ιε (γίν.) κε [..... καὶ] λάβ[ετε] π[α]ρ' αὐτῶν τὰς [κ]αθηκού(σας)
 5 [χ]ειρ...[]

(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος 'Αθὺρ κθ

(m.2) μετρήσατε τὰς προκειμένας πυροῦ ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι πέντε [(γίν.) (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.)] κε (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος 'Αθὺρ λ

1-πσ΄ τ ων 2 3 5 , / , / 4-θη 6 L 9 L

#### Translation

(Measure out in accordance with the) corresponding orders of the royal scribe ... Koma, 4 (aruras), from the former holding of Epiaral- ..., total 15 aruras, fifteen artabs of wheat, total 15 artabs of wheat, all told 25 (artabs of wheat). Take from him the accustomed written imperial oaths. Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 29. Measure out the aforementioned twenty-five artabs of wheat, (total) 25 (artabs of wheat). Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 30.

## 2570

P. 25437 14.7 x 7 cm. Herakleopolites 8/7

Margins: upper 3, left 1.7, lower 3 cm. The writing is similar to that of **2560** and **2561**. Verso blank.

'Ηράκλι[τος το]πάρχη[ς καὶ κατασπορεὺς] [Δ]ιοσ[κουρί]δηι κ[αὶ τοῖς μετόχοις] traces

- 5 Κεφαλαῖς εἰ⟨ς⟩ σπέρμ[ατα δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ τρίτον]
  καὶ εἰκοστὸν (ἔτος) Καίσαρ[ος σπόρου εἰς τὰς σεσημασμένας ὑπ-]
  ὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ τῆς Κόμα κωμογρα[μματέως ± 13]
  τοὺς περὶ Κόμα ἀπὸ βασιλι[κῆς γῆς ± 10]
  [κ]αὶ ᾿Απολλοδώρου γῆς ἀρο[ύρας ± 8]
- 10 (γίν.)(πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ς. καὶ λαβὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ [τὰς καθηκούσας] χ(ε)ιρογραφίας.

(ἔτους) κγ Καίσ[αρος

- 5 Κεφαλαῖς: Cf. **2599**.5 and P. Hib. 71.7 for this village. The dative is perplexing; according to the syntax in **2565**.4, one would expect τῶν ἀπὸ] Κεφαλῶν. Cf. **2326**.10n. (ref. thanks to R. Falivene).
- 6–7 The parallels do not offer anything really satisfactory for filling out the lacuna here. Cf. **2563**.5 where the same construction may have once stood.

#### Translation

Heraklitos, toparch and katasporeus, to Dioskurides (and his colleagues, sitologoi, greetings. Measure out to N.N., an inhabitant of the village of) Kephalai, six artabs of wheat, total 6 artabs, for seed (loans for sowing the plots) of royal (land ...) and

from (the land formerly) belonging to Apollodoros (indicated by?) the village scribe of (the village of) Koma in the twenty-(third) year of Caesar, and take from him (the customary) written oaths. Year 23 of Caesar ....

#### 2571

P. 25438 8.3 x 12.5 cm. Herakleopolites Nov. 25, 3

Margins: left 3.5, lower 3.2 cm. Kollesis 2.3 cm. from the left.

(m.1) τὰς καθηκ[νού/(σας)] χειρογρ[αφίας (ἔτους) κη Καίσ[αρος

(m.2) Δημήτριος τοπάρχη[ς. μέ-] τρησον τὰς προκειμ[ένας]

5 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τ[ριάκ]οντα (γίν.) (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) λ (ἔτους) κη Κα[ίσα]ρος `Αθὺρ κθ

3f. The same person as in **2569** and **2563** may have countersigned here; however, the pen strokes here are much thicker.

#### Translation

... the customary written oaths. Year 28 of Caesar ...

Demetrios, *toparch*. Measure out the aforementioned thirty artabs of wheat, total 30 artabs. Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 29.

#### 2572

P. 25439 8.3 x 8.3; 2.5 x 2.3; 3.3 x 2 cm. Herakleopolites 6/5

αμ.πρ[..].[
κε (ἔτους) Καίσαρος [
"Αγ\η/(μα) κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ἃς γε[ωργεῖ ἐκ (τοῦ) Βοήθου β (ἥμισυ) [
παρ' αὐτ[οῦ τὰς καθηκούσας γειρογραφίας]

 $\overline{\phantom{a}}$ 

(m.2) με[τρήσ]ατε τὰς προκειμ[ένας ]οντα \_\_\_\_\_

2 L 3 pr unf 4 h Bond BL

#### Translation

... the 25th year of Caesar, ... which, according to the village scribe of Koma, (he farms) ... from the former holding of Boethos  $2^{1}/_{2}$  aruras ... (and take) from him (the accustomed written imperial oaths ...)

Measure out the aforementioned ....

# 2573

P. 25440 11 x 14; 7.2 x 12.8 cm. Herakleopolites Nov. 26, 3

Margins: upper 5.5, left 3.7, lower 6.2 cm.

Same hand as **2564**. Since the *toparch* Demetrios appears in **2565**, **2571** and **2573**, one can date this papyrus to the 28th year of Augustus with reasonable confidence.

2 διοσι 3 25 μετρ 4 μι

#### Translation

Demetrios, *toparch* and *katasporeus*, to Dioskurides and colleagues, (*sitologoi*) of Koma, greetings. Measure out, in accordance with the corresponding order (of the royal scribe, ...) to Imuthes, for the seed ... Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 30.

## 2574

P. 25441 19 x 6.7 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: right 0.7; lower 9 cm.

] σπόρ[ου εἰ]ς ὰς γενω/(ργεῖ)
]πα.. φθονλ/() (ἄρουραν) α
]. παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκνού/(σας)
Καίσα]ρος 'Αθὺρ κ̄ῆ
5 (m. alt.) ] προκειμένην
] μίαν (γίν.)(πυρ.) α
] 'Αθὺρ κθ

1 ye 2 < 3 -θηκ 6/7.

- l. εἰ]ς ἥν.

#### Translation

... for sowing in the (... year of Caesar) on the 1 arura which he farms ... Pthol() ... (and take) from him the accustomed (written imperials oaths. Year ... of Caesar), Hathyr 28.

(Measure out) the aforementioned one artab (of wheat), total 1 art. of wheat. (Year ... of Caesar), Hathyr 29.

#### 2575

P. 25442 8.4 x 8 cm.

5

Herakleopolites 6/5

Margins: left 2 cm., upper 1.5, lower 1 cm.

3 /гг, отвери 4 мм 5 с

2 Παπ[

3 (μέτρ)η(σον): The abbreviation here looks much like the one used to abbreviate Agema in 2562.5 and the one still unresolved in 2563.6.

#### Translation

... to Ple-, son of Penharpochrates and (colleagues, *sitologoi*) of the village (of ...). Measure out for the seed (loans) of grain for sowing in the 25th year of Caesar ... from the former holding of Helio- ... and take from him ...

## 2576

P. 25443 10.3 x 3.2 cm. Herakleopolites

Broken off an all sides except the right one where there is a *kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the edge and a negligible margin.

[ ] μετρ\η/( ) συν[επιστέλ(λοντος) ].\ω/( ) καὶ
[ ].( ) 'Ασφέ\ω/(ς) καὶ
[ ]...( ) τῶν ἀπὸ
5 [ ] δάν[ει]α τοῦ
[εἰς τὸ .. (ἔτος) Καίσαρος σπόρου] εἰς ὰς γε\ω/(ργεῖ)
[ ] (γίν.)(πυρ. ἀρτ.) δέκα
[καὶ λαβὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ] traces [

# 1 -τρ 4 7 7/2

#### Translation

... Measure out, (in accordance with the orders of the ...) ... Aspheus and ... (for the seed) loans (of grain for sowing in the ... year of Caesar) in the ... (aruras of land) which he farms ... total ten artabs of wheat. (Take from him) ...

# 2577 Tax List

P. 25161

Herakleopolites 30 B.C. –14 A.D.

See Life 41–43 where this document is briefly discussed.

Five non-contiguous fragments 14–19 cm. high and 25–52 cm. wide, constituting the upper part of a papyrus roll, are extant. All told the remaining portion of the roll measures *ca*. 160 cm. in length. Since only the uppermost portion of the roll is preserved, its exact height must remain a matter for speculation; ditto for its original length. Altogether there are 29 columns and 526 lines.

Fg. A: 14.8 x 52.5 cm.; upper margin 2–2.5 cm.; intercolumnar spaces 1.5 cm. *Kolleseis* 8.5 cm. from the right; another 17 cm. to the left of that one; another 17 cm. to the left of that one. A strip of papyrus 13 x 0.8 cm. has been glued diagonally across the tops of columns V and VI (= lines 52 and 67 which have been written over it).

Fg. B: 19 x 40.5 cm; margins: upper 2.5, left 3 cm.; intercolumnar spaces 1.5–2.5 cm. *Kollesis*: 2 cm. from the right; 18 cm. to the left of that one.

Fg. C: 19.4 x 25.6 cm; margins: left 2.5 cm, upper 2.5–3.5 cm, right 0.8; intercolumnar spaces 1–1.5 cm. *Kollesis*: 10 cm. from the left.

Fg. D: 22.7 x 42.7 cm; margins: upper l.5; intercolumnar spaces: 1.5 cm. *Kolleseis*: 7.5 cm. from the left edge; another 17.5 cm. to the right of that. Another 17.5 cm. to the right of that one must have followed. However, on the right the vertical fibers have disappeared, thus leaving a section consisting solely of horizontal fibers which would have overlapped the succeeding sheet, producing a three-layer join (cf. R. Coles, P. Harris II 212, introd.).

Fg. E: 20 x 25.7 cm.; margins: upper 1.5, left 3.5, right 2.7 cm.; intercolumnar spaces ±1 cm. *Kolleseis*: 5.5 cm. from the left; another 17.5 cm. to the right of that.

The order of the major fragments A-C results from various internal chronological data. Fg. A preserves portions of the descriptive heading for the whole document. Phaophi in the first line there is undoubtedly the first month for which tallies are recorded in the ensuing lines up to l. 117. The first entries on Fg. B (118–194) must obviously be for the month Hathyr, since Choiak (l. 199) heads the subsequent listing extending to the end of the fragment. Tybi is in the first line of fragment C=1.214, hence placing it immediately after Fg. B. The two remaining fragments cannot be assigned with certainty to any place in the roll. However, since Fg. D includes mostly amounts of four drachmas it might originally have belonged to Fg. A. Fg. E recording amounts of two drachmas probably belonged to Fg. C.

Provenance: The only concrete internal evidence for the provenance is in 1. 203 where a tally involving the gymnasiarchs of the metropolis is recorded. The external evidence is circumstantial. Since most of the late Ptolemaic and early Roman

papyri in the Berlin collection (extricated from cartonnage coffins found by the excavators in Abusir el-Melek, site of the ancient Busiris), come from there, the Herakleopolite nome can be posited with reasonable assurance as provenance of this text. While it turned out that some of the papyri were written in Alexandria (1050–1060, 1098–1184, synchoreseis contracts, for the most part), most of the documents from the Abusir el-Melek find derive from closer to home. Further possible internal supporting evidence are two putative Herkunftsbezeichnungen in the text itself: l. 72: Κρηκίης; l. 80: 'Οννίτης for citizens of Krekis (BGU XIV 2437.44; 2439.20,62) and Onne (ibid., 2370.82.86, 2440.44) respectively, both villages in the Herakleopolite nome. The presence of these indications of origin in a list otherwise devoid of such indications implies that these men are registered as inhabitants of their respective home villages residing temporarily for one reason or another somewhere else (presumably in the metropolis, Herakleopolis).

Dating: The document commences with a heading of several lines undoubtedly once indicating the function and purpose of the ensuing listing. Καίσαρος, obviously referring to Augustus, appears in this heading. However, the papyrus is broken off on the left, and the heading is otherwise so lacunose that the exact year and date are forever lost and irretrievable. Since most of the cartonnage documents from Augustan Herakleopolis date from the 20s B.C., one can tentatively place this list within that period. A further criterion for the dating is the paleography. The writing shows striking similarities to the *Laterculi Alexandrini* (published by H. Diels, Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., Berlin 1904, with facsimile) but is somewhat more crude and cursive, befitting its documentary character. The same person who was responsible for this roll may have also penned another tax list in the Berlin collection (2674). Alongside some of the entries on the left is a diagonal stroke or blot of ink, presumably a check mark of some sort.

Since the beginning of this account with its heading is so fragmentary and the end (which might have contained itemized summaries) is entirely missing, it is difficult to posit any but the most general statement about its character and purpose. In all likelihood the list once constituted a month-by-month, day-by-day, and even morning-to-evening, κατ' ἄνδρα (exclusively male) list of tax-payers for probably the nome capital Herakleopolis. Each tax-payer is identified by name and (sometimes) father's name, or failing that, his profession (for cross-reference in a list of tax-payers according to occupation?) and the amount he has paid (or is expected to pay?) on an unknown tax. (See most recently R. Bogaert, ZPE 79, 1989, 207–226, for the status quaestionis on the function of tax lists in Roman Egypt). The multifarious occupations and professions standing in lieu of the father's name reflect all levels of society; for example, line 14 τέκτων, 30 σιτομέτρης, 43 ίπποκόμος, 47 λίνυφος, 48 γναφεύς, 49 λαχανοπώλης, 51 αὐλητής, 57 παστοφόρος, 58 ήπητής, 59 όνηλάτης, 71 οἰκοδόμος, 77 ποιμήν, 83 γέρδις, 84 χρυσοχοῦς, 110 ταριχευταί, 161, 427 χαλκεύς, 293 γρ(αφεύς), 313 ἰατρός, 323 κεραμεύς, 370 σκυτεύς. (See H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, Griech. Texte IX, pp. 49–173, for these trades and occupations.)

While the criteria are most tenuous and any thesis built upon them highly liable to collapse, I would like suggest that the present tax list might record payments on the capitation-tax (*laographia*) in Herakleopolis in the early years of Augustus's reign. It is particularly regrettable that the date is lost, since this list might have been one of the earliest attestations to the capitation-tax in Roman Egypt. Although not a single word in the whole document gives the slightest clue as to which tax is involved here, the fact that the names are all masculine and the fact that so many occupations are indicated remind one of the capitation-tax lists in the Princeton and Cornell collections.

The sole reference to the *laographia* in the Herakleopolite nome during the entire Roman occupation of Egypt has heretofore been another Abusir el-Melek cartonnage document, **1198** (Busiris, 5/4 A.D.), wherein four priests complain that they have been charged 16 dr. apiece for the *laographia*. Hence, our knowledge of this tax in this area is just about nil.

The ethnic interest of this tax list lies in Il. 214–216. This sub-heading for the subsequent roster divides the civil population of the political entity involved into catoecs, Greeks and Egyptians: Τῦβι ἄλλης λογηας (l. -ίας) (δρ.) ι / κατοίκων καὶ Ἑλλήνων / καὶ Αἰγυπτίων. The indication of ten drachmas is obscure, since none of the succeeding payments in the ensuing 60-some lines ever exceeds one or two drachmas. One possibility is to assume that the ten drachmas represent the total sum assessed upon each individual for that year. Another is to associate this amount with the following word and assume the presence of 10–drachma-catoecs in the early Augustan Herakleopolite nome. However, in that case, one would expect ι (δρ.) κατοίκων and not (δρ.) ι κατοίκων. (10-drachma-catoecs are otherwise attested only once in 118 [Arsinoe, 189 A.D.], regarding which Wallace, Taxation 409.40, says, "There is certainly no indication of a 10 dr. rate of poll-tax in the Arsinoite nome.")

According to O. Montevecchi, Aegyptus 50 (1970) 23, catoecs in Roman Egypt are by and large an Arsinoite phenomenon, with relatively few coming from the Hermupolite nome (P. Sarap.) where the designation seems to be more general and equivalent with γεοῦχος (Méautis, Hermoupolis-La-Grande, Lausanne 1918, 65.1; J. Schwartz, P. Sarap. 24.12 n.). So far only one catoec is attested in the Herakléo-polite nome (P. Oslo. 98: 131/132 A.D.) where the designation seems to have a connotation similar to that of the Arsinoite occurrences. According to the entries in lines 214–216, the catoecs in the Herakleopolite nome of the early Augustan era are clearly distinguished from the rest of the population consisting of Greeks and Egyptians. However, in the ensuing list of names no attempt is otherwise made at designating who is catoec and who is not. Neither does there seem to be any distinguishing feature between the people paying one and those paying two drachma installments on their taxes.

While Wallace, Taxation, argues for the *catoecs*' poll-tax liability, C. Nelson, Status Declarations in Roman Egypt (= ASP 19), Amsterdam 1979, 38, argues for their exemption. Since, however, the pitifully few documents shedding any light on the

issue derive from the Arsinoite nome and date, generally speaking, several centuries later, they afford no help at all in deciding the status of the *catoecs* here in the early Augustan Herakleopolite nome and whether they were totally or partially exempt from the poll-tax.

Hence, the questions and issues this new tax list raises are for the most part *imponderabilia*: what is the status of these early Roman *catoecs*? Is it the same as the Ptolemaic *catoecs* or has Augustus already changed it by this time? What is the difference between the catoecs and the Greeks? Why are all these three lumped here together in one category (if there is no difference among the three in the end, why bother to make the distinction at all? Unless they are all lumped together here as payers of the poll-tax regardless of the rate). What was the poll-tax in the early Augustan era? Were there privileged classes either partially or entirely exempt from paying the *laographia*? (Cf. CPR VIII 20, a letter of unknown provenance from the 3rd c. A.D., which mentions Alexandrians, Romans, and *catoecs*.)

Onomasticians should take note of this list, for alongside its intriguing, but unfortunately all-too-fragmentary mention of catoecs, Greeks and Egyptians in Herakleopolis, it presents us with some 70 names heretofore unattested (indicated by an asterisk\*), thus providing a rich, new, source of material on nomenclature in the early Augustan Herakleopolite nome. It is amusing to see alongside such obviously Egyptian, and for the accountant indeclinable, names as Otokulis (1.45) or Tualis (1. 128) such stolid and venerable Greek names as Polydeukes (1. 53), Kastor (1. 222), Orpheus (1, 232), Diomedes (1, 137), Poliantes (1, 418), and even an Achilleus, son of Atreus (1. 518). In l. 419 is Ammenneus, son of Pindar - Pindar in the taxrolls! Sometimes (for example, Il. 72, 425, 517) the names give the impression of being feminine: Thnais, Thinochis, Theanubestis. Women are, however, nowhere attested as laographia-taxpayers. Provided that this list records poll-tax payers, these names are most likely those of men. Cf. such similar, apparently feminine names borne by men in P. Princeton 10 III 14: Taanouphis, son of Petemunis, 10 IV 23: Athenais, son of Heracles. See Pestman, Choachytes, pp. 485ff., on the Greek declensions of Egyptian names.

Literature on the *laographia* includes: Wallace, Taxation 116–134; *id.*, "Census and Poll-Tax in Ptolemaic Egypt," AJPh 59 (1938) 418–442; E. Kiessling, Congr. 5, 223ff.; C. Préaux, L'économie lagide, Brussels 1939, 381f.; *ead.*, O. Wilbour, pp. 28–33; H. Bell, JRS 37 (1947) 12–23; H. Braunert, JJP 9/10 (1956) 302–305; V. Tcherikover, JJP 4 (1950) 187.19–20; D. Hobson, BASP 14 (1977) 129f.; *ead.*, Congr. 17, vol. III, 855; C. Tsiparis, O. Lund 4; P. Harris 199; K. Goudriaan, Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt, Amsterdam 1989, 14; C. Gallazzi, O. Tebt., pp. 4–7; D. Samuel, Congr. 16, 389–403; S. Omar, Congr. 18, vol. II 287–291; J. Shelton, P. Brooklyn 34 introd. On *catoecs*, see D. Canducci, Aegyptus 70 (1990) 211–255.

Various techniques are employed to indicate abbreviated names or words. 1) Supra-script letter. Names with *omega* in them such as Apollo-, Choros and Petechon are written up to the *omega* which is then placed over the preceding letter. 2) Simple omission, e.g. ll. 46, 163, 165, 177, 187, 222, 227, 257, 258, 261, 279. 3) *Haken-*

alpha. This is by far the most common method of abbreviating anything and everything, even where the letter alpha is not even remotely concerned. Hence, in the transcription (where applicable), this has been rendered as alpha. Otherwise, it has been rendered as the rest of the name or noun in parentheses.

2577

	Col. I			Col. II	
	]. Καίσαρος Φαῶφι ]τρ κατ[] .	ζ		ζ - Παῆσις Χῶρος	δ
	][].ου (δραχμ-)	δ		υἱ(ὸς) Πετεν\χῶν/ αὐτὸς	δ
	].[].ους	δ	1	Πετεχῶν/ τέκτων	δ
	1.5		15	Ποκᾶς Πανβ[.( )]	δ
5	]			Παντ.ψῆμις*	δ
	].ους	δ		'Ηρώδης Ταχάι(τος)	δ
	]oນ	δ		Χ\ῶ/(ρος) Σενθέως	δ
	1 —	δ		'Ηρακ[λ]ῆς Κορηοῦ(ς)	δ
	].υτος	δ	20	K[.]ορ Αἰνετο(ῦ)	δ
10	]	δ		Κολλού]θης Αλιται*	δ
		•		]	δ
				]ρου	δ
	Col. III			Col. IV	
	Ψενατῦμις Πανάις *	δ		Πόντος ἀδελφὸς	δ
25	Χῶρος Βεστηοῦς*	δ		"Αδραστ(ος) Στραβᾶς	δ
	Λάτης Παρᾶτος	δ		Μικίων 'Ωρίωνος	δ
	Κιλικᾶς	δ	40	Κικιόις Μαρσύου	δ
	'Ατρεὺς	δ		Ήρόδοτος Πτολεμα( ) δ	
	Παταβα[* ]	δ		ξΩρος Αρβωνύχου*	δ
30	Ψενοβάστις σιτομέ\τ/(ρης)	δ		].ς ἱπποκόμο(ς)	δ
	Πνεορώτης* .[]νιο( )	δ		Πετερ.ισβασις*	δ
	.εσβισις*	δ	45	Οτυκουλις*	δ
	"Αδρα(στος) Λεωρμις*	δ		Σαδάλας Κυτοῦ(ς)	δ
	[.]ως 'Αλεξάνδρο(υ) \νεωτε(ρ-)/	δ		Φομβῶς λίνυφος	δ
35	Ψαῆρις Ψιτόις*	δ		Νουμᾶς γναφεὺς	δ
	][			Μαν\ρῆς/ λαχανοπώλης	δ
			50	Ερκουρο[*	

	Col. V			Col. VI	
	Αις αὐλητὴς Πε[]	δ δ		"Αδραστος Θερμο[ ] "Αδραστος 'Αρυσαη.[*	δ
	Π[ολυ]δεύκης Απ[.]\ς/	β		Φομβῶς Πολυδ[ ].	δ
	ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο	β	70	Πετοσίλις Κεφάλω[νο]ς	δ
55	'Αρπαῆσις Πετεβεν(δήτιος)	δ		Πνεορῶς* οἰκοδό(μος)	δ
	Ψενοβάστις 'Ανίκις*	δ		Θινῶχις* Κρηκίτη[ς]	δ
	Παῶντις παστοφόρο(ς)	δ		Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) υ\ί/(ὸς) Φομβῶς	δ
	Πα[.]ως ἠπητὴς	δ		Πετεμίνις	δ
	Εια[.]πις ὀνηλάτης	δ	75	' $A$ ρ $\hat{\omega}[\theta]$ ις Νεχ $\theta$ ερα $\hat{\upsilon}$ τ $($ ος $)$	δ
60	"Αδραστος Τνεορῶτος	δ		Θοτεῦς	δ
	'Αμεννεῦς ΄΄ Ωρου	δ		'Αννιμους*	δ
	Πετεχ\ώ/(ν) Έρμωνος	δ		Χωθαμουνίου*	δ
	'Αμύντας Κελάδου	δ		υείὸς	δ
	'Ασφεὺς Ταψάιτος	δ	80	Πετεβενδῆ(τις) 'Οννίτης	δ
65	Πετεαρποχρά(της) 'Αρκοίριος*	[δ]		$\Pi$ [ετ]εχῶνπη $\theta$ ι( )	δ
	traces			]ενο[ς] Ζήνωνος	δ
	•			].ς γέρδις	δ
	Col. VII			Col. VIII	
				Ψενοβάστι[ς	
	\θ/ Σωτήριχος χρυσοχοῦς	δ		υ\ί/(ὸς) Σωστράτου Νε[	
85	Πιτῖς	δ		'Ηρώδης σχεδιαζου [	
	Πετεαμουσακις*	δ		Ήρώδης Σενω.ης λι(νόυφος)	δ
	°Ωρος τέκ[τ]ω[ν]	δ	105	'Ωρίων Κόνδωνος	δ
	λεμᾶς	δ		υ\ί/(ὸς) Πάκις	δ
	'Ηρωόδης 'Αρκοῖρις*	δ		Θέων γναφεὺς	δ
90	"Αδραστος Παρᾶτος	δ		/ Γαλέστης 'Αδράστ[ου]	δ
	Λάτης ἀδελφὸς	δ		Ανειμους* ποιμὴν	δ
	Σιτόις Τεπαῦτος*	δ	110	ταριχευταί [	
	Χῶρος Παρμενίω(νος)	δ		Πληρ[ι]ς ποιμὴν [	
	υ\ί/(ὸς) "Ωρου 'Αλεξάνδρο(υ)	δ		'Αμμωνι[ς] αὐλητ[ὴς	
95	Πετεακης* Πάκις	δ		*Αμαραρη[].[	
	'Ηρᾶς Βησᾶτος	δ		*Τουπαιβώ[	
	Σενθεῦς Ἰχνολύκου*	δ	115	Πακρης* Ψ[	
	νείὸς			[.]ατρισ[	
	Νουμῆνις 'Ροδίππ[(ου)]	β		][	
	Κεφάλων [				
100	[]νγῶις* Ἰσίονος [				

	(Fg. B) Col. IX			Col. X		
	Χ\ŵ/(ρος) 'Αμμουνίου	β		Νέαρχος	$(\delta \rho.)$	β
	υείὸς	β	135	'Απολλ\ω/( ) χην		β
120	Στίλβων	β		'Ασκλᾶς		α
	νείὸς	[.]		Διομήδης		α
	Γαβινις*			• Γαλέσθης 'Αδρά(στο	ວນ)	β
	Φομβῶς	α		• υείὸς		β
	Ήρακλέων	α	140	•μα\ω/( ) 'Αριστ\ω/(	)	β
125	<sup>ε</sup> Ωρος Κ[]σάλου*	β		Δαμᾶς Πρι		β
	άδελ[φὸ]ς	β		άδελφὸς		β
	Ζήνων Κίσσα	α		Πτόλλις Καψ\ω/( )*		α
	'Ατρῆς Τουαλις*	α		'Αμμοῦς Μαρ		β
	Σαδάλας Κυτο(ῦς)	β	145	]μαλχος		α
130	άδελφὸς	β		]v		β
	/ υίὸς 'Αρτέμω(νος) [			].ως Ζη		β
	'Αρυώτας 'Αρυ[			]ov( )		β
	].[				]	α
	Col. XI			Col. XII		
150	'Ηρ\α/( ) Πίνις (δρ.)	β		'Ανθαγόρας "Ηλι(ος)		β
	ἀδελφὸς	β		ό πατὴρ		β
	• Παῶς ἠπη[τ(ἡς)]	α	175	Παντοενβη(ς)*		β
	• Δράκων	α		"Αδρα(στος) Φιλίσκο	υ	β
	'Αμεννεῦς	β		Σωτήριχος χρυ(σοχοῦ		β
155	• "Αδρα(στος) Αραῆτος*	β		'Αρπαῆσις Παρή(ους)	)	β
	Πτολλίων	β		'Αρυώτης Κόσμο		β
	'Αρυώτης Διο	α	180	'Αρμιῦσις γναφε(ὺς)		β
	• Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Καθα	β		υείὸς		β
	υίὸς Ταστόρμου *	β		/ υίὸς Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Τα	πν()	β
160	"Αδρα(στος) 'Ηρακλέων(ος)	β		πρόγονος		β
	υείὸς	β		Πετεχ\ώ/(ν) Καλαμ()		β
	'Αμύντας	α	185	• ἀδελφὸς		α
	Πύρων χαλ(κεὺς)	β		• Ἰσοδαις		α
	άδελφὸς	α		Κολλού <del>θ</del> ης Ταλα		α
165	• ἦΑπις ὀνηλά(της)	β		Νεχθ εμβῆς		β
	υείὸς			Ονν.[ ].αν		β
	υείὸς 'Αμεννεῦς	α	190	• Apai()[		α
	Σωτήριχος Πρι(ρις) *	β		Χε.[		
	υίὸς Λοπασ.[.]*	β		K[		
170	άδελφὸς	β		traces	•	

	Ψεν[	].		traces	
	]	β			
	Col. XIII			(Fg. C) Col. XIV	
195	όμοίως τῷ αὐτῶι σὺν ὧν ἔχει			Τῦβι ἄλλης λογηας (δρ.) ι	
	'Απολλ\ω/( ) ὧν ἀρ(γ.)(δρ.) πα				
	(γίν.) πα καὶ[		215	κατοίκων καὶ Ἑλλήνων	
	είς συνκεφαλωσιν τ (δρ.)	η		καὶ Αἰγυπτίων	
	(γίν.) αρ(γ.)(δρ.) φνε=			'Ηρ\ώ/(δης) Ταψάιτος (δρ.)	β
	Χοιάκ			'Αρμιῦς ''Ωρου	β
200	άλλης λογηας τῶν αὐτῶν			Κολλούθης Αριται()*	α
	προκιμένων ἀνδρῶν		220	υείὸς	β
	$ \dot{\alpha} \rho(\gamma.) \ \delta \rho \alpha \chi(\mu-) \ \tau \iota \alpha \ \dot{\alpha} \rho(\gamma.) \ \phi \iota \epsilon \ . $			υείὸς Χ\ώ/(ρου) Πετεχ\ῶ/(νος)	β
	/γυμνασιαρχ\ω/()μητροπόλεως ά	ρ(γ.)τ		Κάστωρ Διονυ	β
	έλάσσωμα ετηρών α(νδρών?) ς			°Ωρος τέκτων	α
205	ἀποκαταστήσεως ε.νεχν			υείὸς ᾿Αδρ\ά/(στου) Ποκᾶ(τος)	β
	'Αχιλλέως (δρ.)ν		225	Ίρανοῦφις Πετε\χ/(ῶνος)	β
	Μα.αις Οψ λινου			Σίμος	α
	ζευ() ι	β		Ποκᾶς Κρου	β
	]υτοις	β		υείὸς	
210	].ογοις β	α		υείὸς	α
	traces		230	'Ηρακρῆς Παρ.[	
	traces			'Ορφεὺς [	
	traces			'Ηρνώ/(δης) Αρκοιρις [	
	Col. XV			Col. XVI	
	Πνεωρῶς Νουμή(νιος)	α		Κικάις*	α
	Χ\ω(ρος) Παρμενίω(νος)	β	255	'Αρβωνυχ\ο/(ς)*	α
235		β		υείὸς	β
	j[ ]	β		Ήρόδοτος Πτο	β
	]	β		Σενθεῦς Λεον	α
	].	β		'Αβηοῦς	β
	]	β	260	Πολέμω(ν) Τλαλ	α
240	]	β		Ψενοβάστις Αλε	β
	]ασπορευ	β		Σώστρατ[ος]	α
		]		]	β
	•	]		]	β
		}	265	Ξεν[ . ]	β
				τέκτων	α
245	]	β		υείὸς	

	]v( )[.]	α		υείὸς	β
	]	α			β
	].ιας Αλμ.( )	α	270		β
	Πολ]υδεύ\κ/(ης) Απερ( )	α			β
				•	β
250	]	α			β
	]ρου Λάκου	β			β
	]χ\ω/(ν) Αιου( )	β	275		α
	].ς Λακανους	β		[ά]δελφ[ὸς	
	Col. XVII			(Fg. D) Col. XVIII	
	Πετεῆσι(ς) λιν(όυφος)	β	295	[.]εσβισις*	δ
	υείὸς	β		[.]μος	β
	'Απολλω() Χην	β		[]orohoo va	b
280	'Ασκλᾶς	α		Πετεχῶν γρ(αφεὺς)	δ
	Διομήδης	α			β
	Γαλέστη(ς) 'Αδρ(άστου)	β	300	Πα[ρ]μενίων	δ
	νείὸς	β		'Αλε]ξάνδρ(ου)	δ
	Τηρίων	α		].[]	δ
285	Γαλέστης Βη(σᾶτος)	α		]	δ
	'Ανιμους* 'Αδρ(άστου)	β		]	δ
	'Απολλω( ) Προ( )	β		J	δ
	Σίδηρος	β		]	δ
	Ψενοβάστις	β		lacuna of 8 cm.	9
290	υείὸς	α		]	δ
	Πτολλίων 'Αδρ(άστου)	β			δ δ
	Δολης Δολης*	α	210	J 1	δ
	Γλαυκίας Νικᾶ	α	310	]	0
	][				
	Col. XIX			Col. XX	
				[	]
	"Αδρα[στος		335	'Αρμιῦσις γναφεὺς	δ
	Σενθεῦς Πῖτις	δ		Μενχῆς Πτέρωνο(ς)	δ
	Σωτήριχος Πριρις*	δ	,	Λάτης Λεωσις* κερα(μεὺς)	δ
	Ψατῦμις ὀνηλάτη(ς)	δ		Παιλευς*	δ
315	, ,	β	0.5	Γλαυκίας 'Απολλλω/( ) ἰατρὸ(ς)	δ
	'Ανθαγόρας 'Ήλις	δ	340	`Αρφαῆσις Σενθέως	δ δ
	Παντοενβης* Παραμου()*	δ		Λακάπις*	ο δ
	δ(ε)ίλης			' Ωρος Πόντου	O

	'Αμά[ρ]λης	δ		πρόγονος Πετεμίνις	δ
320	Δημῆτρις Κελάδου	β		υ\ί/(ὸς) Φυλάκου	δ
	Πετεχῶν Παναευν( )*		345	Θεόφαντος 'Ριγᾶς*	δ
	Περοβάστ[ι]ς* ἰατρὸς	δ		'Αμφωνυχος* Σωσιθ(έου)	δ
	(ὧν)ἔχ⟨ε⟩ι ι	β			
	Τρύφων λίνυφος	δ		Λεόντις Κοσ	δ
	Καλατύτης Κήπαις	δ		Νεφορῶς Τακιόιτος*	δ
325	].[ ]	δ		Άρυώτης 'Αμεννέω(ς)	δ
	]ç	δ	350	Πετεχῶν Πίνις	δ
	Π]ασόις Ίρηκλῆς	δ		Πολέμων Φιλω( )	δ
	]ωνος	δ		υ\ί/(ὸς) Πετεῆσις [ ]	
	.[]ς Νικοστράτου	δ		π[	
330	Κ[]ωνουφις Δαιταιτος*	δ		μ[	
	Γλαυκίας Νικάνωρ	δ	355	ά[	
	ταριχευταί	ή		$\Gamma\alpha[\beta]$ ıvı $[\varsigma^*]$	
	'Ρωμάις Αρ.[].ν			Αὔλαος [	
				Φομβε[	
				Πα[	
	C.I VVI			Col. XXII	
260	Col. XXI	1		Σαδάλας Κυτοῦ(ς)	δ
360	[	]		].	δ
	°Ωρος 'Αρπῶτο[ς]	β			Ÿ
	'Ανθαγόρας 'Ήλις	0	205	]πα[	δ
	δ(ε)ίλης	г	385	Ψεν]οβάστις σχεδιαζου	δ
265	Ίρανοῦφις Πετεχῶ(νος)	[		Πόντος	δ
365		δ		Πετεχλῶ/(ν) Πετεακ Κολλού[θ(ης)] ἀδελφὸς	δ
	Εὐπόλεμος	-	. 2	Νεχθεμβῆς λαχα(νοπώλης)	δ
	υ\ί/(ὸς) Φομβῶς \νεώτερος/ Πεμ	δαι	390		β
	Κύων Κήπαις	δ	390	`Ατρης σκυτεύς	β
270	Διομήδης	δ		Σενθεῦς Κήπαις	β
370	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	δ		] Περοβάστεω(ς)*	δ
	Πύρων χαλκεύς	δ		Πύρος	δ
	Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) "Ωρου λίνυφος	δ	205		δ
	Πετεχῶν Εὐβούλου		395	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	δ
075	<b>ϊβ Φιλῶτας</b>	δ		Οπλοπαδος* υ	δ
375	70 3 1 2	δ		].ος Παῶντις	δ
	[υ]λί/(ὸς) Ά[ρ]φαῆσις Παρήου(ς)			].υνευς πρόγονο(ς)	δ
	[] Σουχᾶτος	δ	400	]. Καλλικράτου	_
	]ν Διονυτᾶς	δ	400		]
	]απεως				]

380	] Κεφαλᾶτος ]	δ δ		] δ(ε)ίλης	] δ
			405	].ν ἰατροῦ Ἡρακρῆ(ς) Φιλώτου τγ	δ
				[ ]πο( )	β
	Col. XXIII			Col. XXIV	
	Πετεχῶν λαξὸς	δ	420	ιδ	
	Βελλης Ανωντις*	δ		Πετεχῶν Σώτου β	δ
410	]			Κολλούθη(ς) Αδαιτος*	δ
				Πετενοῦφις Κήπαις	β
	[			Παυσᾶς αὐλητής	δ.
	Ποκᾶς Εὐάρχου β	δ	425	Θνάις λίνυφος δ (ὧν) ἔχ(ε)ι	β
	Κρεῖος Σίλλου	β		Πτολλίων 'Αρφαῆσις	δ
	δ(ε)ίλης			Σώστρατος χ\α/(λκεὺς)	υ
415	ταριχευταί	δ		Γαλέστης Βησάτος	δ
	Κόρσων* ἠπητὴς	δ		'Ωρίων Κόνδωνος	β
	'Ανθαγορίων Περίνθου	δ	430	'Ασκλᾶς — δ (ὧν) ἔχ(ε)ι	β
	Πολιάντης	δ		Φομβῶς Πετεακης* υ\ί/(ὸς)	δ
	'Αμμεννεῦς Πινδάρ(ου)	δ		Καλαλᾶς Τεαπναῦτος δ (ὧν) ἔχ	((ε)ιρ
				δ(ε)ίλης	O
				'Ηρακλῆς Αλλκινις*	β
	Col. XXV			(Fg. E) Col. XXVI	
				].	
435	$\iota[\epsilon]^-$			].	
	Πέτων [			].	
	[		445	/ 'Ωρ[ ]	
	[			Τ[.].[]ιλις Μαχ\/( )	α
	[			Σωτήριχ[ο]ς Λαομε()	β
440	'Ισχυρ[			Μεγχῆς Αρηρηους	β
	Αδραπε.[*			Γᾶνις	β
			450	υίὸς	α
				Αμνισης*	β
				Παῖμις	β
				[ ]ιλις	β
			4	άδελφ[ό]ς	β
			455	Πεες 'Ονν( )	β

				Κ[0]λλούθου	α
				· Ωρος Μανρ(οῦς)	
				Σφαΐρας [	
				]ε[].[	
	Col. XXVII			Col. XXVIII	
460	]. Καλλίπ\π/(ου)	β		Πμηις	β
	Π]ετε\χ/(ῶν) Νιρήας*	β		Πτολλί(ων) Καψ( )*	α
	<sup>°</sup> Ω]ρος Λῆκις*	α		'Ανθαγλό/(ρας)	β
	άδελφὸς	α		άδελφὸς	β
	]ων Παι\δ/( )	β	485	Ζήν\ω/(ν) Κίσσ\α/	α
465	άδελφὸς	β		'Ηρακλέω(ν) λί(νυφος)	α
	υίὸς Πεκρ( )	α		άδελφὸς	α
	Πετεακης* χαλ\κ/(εὺς)	β		Πετεχῶνς Σπαρτᾶ	β
	Χ\ῶ/(ρος) Ἑριέως	β		'Ανεμμους* Κυ( )	β
	Σενθεῦς Ἰχν\α/(λύκου)*	β	490	Νααπαινὶς*	α
470	Φομβῶς Ταῷς	α		Μανρῆς	β
	υίὸς Κεφάλων	β		Κολλούθης	β
	Πεις Κεφα	β		Πετε\χ/(ῶν) Ταλ( )	
	Πρώτης	β		Νεχθεμβ\η̂/(ς)	β
	'Αρπα $\hat{\eta}[\sigma]$ ις Σεν $\theta$ (έως)	β	495	$Koλλοῦ \θ/() λα \χ/(ανοπώλης)$	α
475	•[.]	β		Πικοῦς	α
	<u>π</u> [ ]	β		Χ\ῶ/(ρος) Πατώμιος	β
	] Πετεαρψε( )	β		Κολλοῦ\θ/() Ταπ\μ/()	α
	] οἰκο\δ/(όμος)	β		Πετε\χ/(ῶν) Καλαμ( )	β
	] 'Αρτε\μ.( )	β	500	άδελφ[ὸς ]	α
480	]	β		Α.η.[	]
				A.[	$\dot{\alpha}$
	Col. XXIX				
	'Ηρακλῆς Ταβευτη*	α			
	άδελφὸς	α			
505	Κύων	α			
	υίὸς 'Αρχῆμις	β			
	υἱ(ὸς) Στρουθοῦ				
	'Αρτέμ\ω/(ν) Πύρ\ω/(νος)	β			
	Παᾶπις	β			
510	Ήρακλῆς Γαλῆτο(ς)	β			
	'Ατρῆς σκυτεὺς	α			
	' $A\mu\mu\omega$ /( ) $αὐλ\η/(της)$	β			

νίὸς Τηρίων Εὔνους 515 Πετε\γ/(ῶν) 'Οννώφρ(ιος) Πανετβ\ε/() Ίρανού(φιος) Θεανουβέστις\* 'Αχιλλεύς 'Ατρέως 'Αρσιῆσι(ς) βουκ\ο/(λος) 520 'Ηρας Νικοστρ\ά/(του) Nεγθεμβ\ $\hat{\eta}$ /(ς) Καλ() Παυσᾶς αὐλ\η/(της) υίὸς Λααμερ.. Πετεακης\* Λαβ 525  $\tau[\alpha]$  revtal id  $\tau \in \mathcal{V}/(\ ) \zeta (\delta \rho.)$  id (γίν.) ἄν\δ/(ρες) ρδ

Two loose fragments, one with  $\Pi \lambda \eta$ , the other with  $A\mu\mu\omega$ .

3 et passim ← 14 et passim ℃ 19 -ηού 20 -τό 31 - ό 33 αδρά 34 γεωτέ 38 αδραστ 41 - εμά 43 - κομό 57 - φορό 71οικοδό 75 νεχθεραυτ 80 -δή 81-ηθί 93 -ενιώ 94 -δρό 148 ο τ 160 αδρά 173 ηλί 175 - βή 178 - αρή 180 - αφεύ 182 ταπό 184 -μά 190 αραί 202 ,203 αρ 203 α 208 ζεύ 219 - ιταί 224 ποκά 234 μενιώ 248 αλμ 249 απερ 271 ηπ 364 - χώ 370-σιμά 376 -ηού 389 λαχά 393 -σιεώ 398 -γονό 419 -δαρ 422 - θή 425,430,432 \ 447 -μέ 455 μανή 466 πεκή 477 - αρώ 482 - 1 - w 486 1 489 xt 493 tolt 499 - how 510 - nt 515 - of f 516 - ού 521 καλ 526 /

- It is obvious that no more than a few letters with the year of Augustus' reign are missing from the left. The remaining ink traces on the edge of the papyrus are unfortunately much too vague to begin to decipher.
- In the column of numbers there is a long, vertical stroke whose meaning is elusive.
- Delta has been corrected from alpha. 6
- 16 Cf. Πασιψημις.
- 17 = 217, where he is apparently in a different taxation class. According to its form Ταγάιτος would appear to be feminine, but it must be the name of the father. Cf. l. 64.
- 18 = vso 59.
- 19 Cf. Xopnoc and Mayser I.2, § 63 Anhang.
- 21 = 219: *l*. 'Αλιταί(ου) ?
- 25 Cf. 2674.228: Χῶλος Βαστ.[.
- 26 Λατης: The same name in ll. 91, 337; P. Tebt. IV 1139.5. The same man in 91? (brother of Adrastos; both sons of Paras; cf. l. 90). Παρᾶτος: The second alpha has been corrected from eta.
- 27 Κιλικάς: The name is attested in SB VIII 9904.3 (Antinoopolis, 154 A.D.).

- 31 Tau and epsilon corrected from sigma and omicron. Cf. ll. 68,71,233 for similarly constructed names. Do these forms which omit the intervocalic labial phi between the two vowels epsilon and omicron perhaps reflect the Herakleopolitan dialectic pronunciations?
- 32 = 295.
- 33 = 299.
- 39 = Fg. B col. II 9.
- 41 Cf. 1. 257.
- Cf. CRIPEL 1 (1973) p. 224, 1.33: Νοβωνύχου; Pape: 'Αρβουπάλης.
- 43 Cf. H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 102-105; on horses in general: A. Hyland, Equus. The Horse in the Roman World, London 1990.
- 46 = 129,382.
- 48 = 2674.95.
- 49 Mαν has been written over something else. Cf. E. Bernand, RIGF 61.1, on the meaning of this name.
- 53 = 249.
- 55 Πετεβεν(δήτιος): Attested in **1809**.3.
- 56 Cf. 'Ανίκιος.
- Since pastophoroi are not technically priests, they were liable to the poll-tax. Cf. H. Schönborn, Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter (Beitr. z. kl. Phil. 80), Meisenheim am Glan 1976; A. Passoni dell' Acqua, Aegyptus 61 (1981) 176ff.; Kessler 86.7; E. Lane, Glotta 66 (1988) 100-123; P.W. van der Horst in: Studies in Egyptian Religion ... Zandee, Leiden 1982, 70.81; J.-J. Aubert, BASP 28 (1991) 113-118; and Pestman, Choachytes, p. 428.
- 58 = 152? ἠπητής: Pestman, Choachytes p. 442.
- 59 Cf. Pape, Ἰαπίς. The scribe, perhaps wishing to avoid the kollesis running through the roll at this point, left a space in the middle of the name and continued with pi, iota and sigma on the succeeding sheet.
- Κελαδοῦ: Attested in Pape.
- Not the attested name 'Ακοίφιος, but rather the same new name which also appears here in Il. 89, 232.
- 'Aρυσαη.[: The first letter perhaps corrected from epsilon. Cf. Bernand, RIGF 181.2: 'Αρυταῆς.
- 70 *l.* -σι̂οις.
- 72 Θινῶχις: Cf. Σενῶχις, Τενοῦχις?

Κρηκίτη[ς]: Thinochis is an inhabitant of the village of Krekis (cf. 2437.44, 2439.20,62; P. Giss. 65.11: Κοηκείτης).

Such word formations are widely attested, e.g. 2425.7,27: Νωίτης; P. Tebt. I 90.35; 103 (p. 448); P. Tebt. I 112.122; II 347.18, 401.44: Ταλίτης. It is somewhat disconcerting that both Talites (SB 9693.73) and Onites (v. Pape) are also attested as names of people. Tabeutes (1. 503) is likewise problematical.

- 75 Νεχθεραῦτ(ος): The name of a deity in P. Grenfl. II 33.5 and W. Spiegelberg, Demotische Denkmäler II = Catalogue générale du Caire 39, Strasbourg 1908, p. 227.
- 78 l. Xωθ() 'Aμουνίου ? The first omicron corrected from iota. Cf. l. 118.
- Πετεβενδη(τις) 'Οννίτη(ς): Petebendetis is an inhabitant of the village of Onne; cf. 1. 72 n. Onne is also attested in 1808.9, 2370.82,86, 2440.44. Falivene 205 discusses its location. See Pestman, Choachytes, p. 71, on names terminating in -βενδήτις.
- 84 = 177.
- 87 = 223.
- 88 A couple of ink specks are all that remain of the first letters. There is hardly enough room for Πτ[o]λεμᾶς.

```
2577
46
93 = 234.
97 = 469 and 2674.164
103 = 269. Cf. 385.
105 = 429.
108 = 138, 282,
109 = 77.
110 ταριχευταί: Cf. H. Youtie, TAPA 61 (1940) 656 = Scriptiunculae I 96-97; C. Kraemer
      and F. Spencer, Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc. 65 (1934) 45; D.J. Thompson, Memphis
      under the Ptolemies, Princeton 1988, 156-7; P. Pestman, L'archivio di Amenothes (P.
      Tor. Amenothes), Milan 1981, 1-9; E. Reymond, P. dem. Ashmol., Oxford 1973, 23ff.
112 = 512?
118 = 78?
122 Cf. 274 and vso 32: Γαβίνιος.
127 = 485. Cf. Κίσσος. Similar names are attested in Pape.
128 Cf. Τουαλής.
129 = 46,382.
135-139 = 279-283.
135 Either the father's name, Χην(οῦ), or else the man's occupation, χην(οτρόφος), χην(-
      οβοσκός), χην(άς)? There is no mark of abbreviation after the nu. Cf. W. Clarysse and
      O. Masson, "Le substantif χηνάς et le nom d'homme Χηνᾶς," ZPE 20 (1976) 231.
140 Έρμάω(ν)?, Έρμαῶ(ς)?
141 Cf. 168, 313.
143 = 482.
144 Cf. 'Aμοῦς.
150 Πίνις: Cf. 350 and P. Berl. Leihg. 12.3.
154 Cf. Vergote, p. 6.
156 Cf. O. Masson, ZPE 98 (1993) 157–167.
157, 158 The fathers' names show no mark of abbreviation, perhaps because they are writ-
      ten directly over the kollesis, and the scribe, wishing to avoid difficulties, simply
      dropped the endings and left off any mark of abbreviation.
163 = 371.
168 = 313 Cf. 141; ZPE 46 (1982) 250: Πριροις.
173 = 316, 362. 'Ανθαγόρας: Cf. SB I 8974, fg. 3.40, 57 (Abusir el-Melek, I B.C.); Pape:
       'Ανταγόρας.
175 Cf. 317.
177 = 84.
179 = 376.
180 = 335.
182 Ταπν(), Ταγιν()?
184 = 499.
      The first letter(s) corrected from something else. Iota, eta and kappa seem to be
       involved here.
      Aραι( ), Αρλι( ), Αραρ( ), "A{\rho}δρ\α/(στος)? The third letter corrected and written-
197-198 l. συνκεφαλαίωσιν: "For the record: 300 (tax-payers?) at 8 drachmas (apiece)
       equals 355 silver drachmas and 2 obols."
207 λινόυ(φος)?
217 = 17.
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225 = 364. Ἰρανοῦφις: Cf. CRIPEL 1 (1973) 250 = SB XII 10861 II 2.

219 = 21.

223 = 87.

```
230 l. -κλης.
232 = 89; cf. 1. 65 n.
234 = 93.
249 = 53. The number has been changed, but it is impossible to determine whether alpha or
      beta was first written and then emended into the other.
255 Cf. 42 n.
257 Cf. l. 41.
269 = 103 l. σχεδιάζων?; cf. 385.
274 = 122.
279-283 = 135-139.
284 The name is rare; cf. l. 514 and P. Giss. 94.3 (Soknopaiu Nesos, I A.D.).
285 Cf. 1, 428, W. Schäfer, P. Köln V 223.4 n., discusses another, more famous, Galestes.
293 = 331?
295 = 32?
299 = 33
     This line originally read: ].\tau \rho o c \delta. In the meantime, the piece bearing these letters has
313 = 168 l. Πλήρης? Cf., however, ZPE 46 (1982) 250: Πριροις.
314 Ψατημις.
315 Παμῶτος: The name is attested in P. Tebt. III 1053.12.
316 = 173, 362.
317 Cf. 175.
319 'Aμο[υ]λης is also possible.
322 = vso. 30. Cf. P. Tebt. I 1026: Περευβάστις; NB: Τεροβάστις.
323 l. -υφος.
327 l. 'Ηρακλῆς.
324 Κήπαις is attested in Pape.
331 = 293?
335 = 180.
336 Πτέρωνος is attested in Pape.
337 = 2674.152?
338 Cf. O. Wilbour 7.1: Παχομπαιηλους.
340 = 474.
341 Λακάνις is out of the question.
      Φυλάκου is attested in Pape. Cf. 2674.167.
345 l. \langle \Omega \rangle \rho i \gamma \hat{\alpha} \varsigma?
348 Cf. Kιόις.
350 Cf. 150 n.
      Cf. SB VI 8974.43: Φιλώτας Πολέμωνος (Abusir el-Melek; I B.C.), possibly a relative
       of the man in this account.
352 Cf. Vergote, p. 15.
362 = 173,316.
364 = 225.
371 = 163.
375 Κωφως: Cf. P. Bon. 39a vso 6: Κωφοῦς; P. Oxy. VII 1050.15: Κωφός.
376 = 178.
382 = 46, 129.
385 l. σχεδιάζων?; cf. 103.
391 = 511.
395 ι. Ταγήτος.
l. - \kappa \lambda \hat{\eta}(\varsigma).
```

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413 Εὐάρχου: Cf. P. Cair. Zen. 59434.
414 Both names are attested in Pape.
```

424 = 522.

427 χα(λκεύς?) v: If this entry is correct, it is intriguing: Sostratos is paying 400 drachmas instead of the usual 4.

428 = 285.

429 = 105.

430 'Ασκλᾶς —: Shorthand for 'Ασκλᾶς ('Ασκλᾶτος), according to J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412.62 n.; P. Princ. I, p. xiii.

432 Cf. P. Giss. I 37 II 12: Ταπνοῦτος (Gebelen, 136 B.C.).

434 Cf. Pape: 'Αλκίνης; NB: 'Αρκίνις.

461 Cf. NB: Νηρᾶς.

462 Cf. NB: 'Αλῆκις.

464 -on is either a slave (παιδάριον) or son of Paid-.

469 = 97.

474 = 340 and vso 63.

476 Beta has been corrected from alpha.

481 Πμηις: Cf. Pape: Παμήεις, Πάμης.

482 = 143.

499 = 184.

503 Ταβεύτη(ς)?: Although this looks suspiciously like the man's occupation or ethnikon, nothing can be adduced from the lexica to support either interpretation. Cf. J. Day, C. Keyes, P. Col. V, p. 125 l. 134: Ταπευτ().

505 Attested in Pape.

505, 507 For such names as Kyon, the "dog," and Struthos, the "sparrow," which were often given to slaves, see 2372.4 n.; O. Masson, "Les noms des esclaves dans la Grèce antique," in: Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l'esclavage, Paris 1972, 15ff.; A. Henrichs, Die Phoinikika des Lollianos, Bonn 1972, 107; U. Horak, Tyche 4 (1989) 105–106; H. Heinen, Studia Hellenistica 27 (1983) 138f.

511 = 391.

514 Τηρίων: Cf. P. Giss. 94.3 (Soknopaiu Nesos, 66/67 A.D.); otherwise known only from inscriptions and literature; *l*. Εὐνόου.

517 Cf. **916**.36: Θενοβέστις; P. Lond. II 257.217: Θεανοβ(); **2674.**212: Θεανοβάστι(ς).

518 Homer in the tax rolls!

522 = 424.

524 Γαβ?

On the verso are more lists and accounts, some apparently continuing the lists on the recto. Others, however, involve pawning transactions, indicating that the taxroll was re-used after it had ceased to have any value or serve any purpose in the tax-office. Other pawnshop accounts are: UPZ I, p. 377; E. Husselmann, TAPA 92 (1961) 251–266; P. Lond. II 193 vso. (extensive fragments of which are among the *inedita* in the Paris and Berlin collections).

Frag. A vso: Col. I: traces

```
Col. II
```

```
ιὰ Ἰσχυρίων(ος) ..δε.. πρωει ....πεδι ό\μ/(οίως) ἄλλαι χ(ιτῶνες) [γ]υνα(ικεῖοι)
```

```
δείλης
                          (γίν.) της ημέρας υπη
5
                          θ τιμής οἴνου (δρ.) ιβ
                          .. τὸ (ε)ἰσηγμένον ἀργ(υρ.) ροβ
                          καὶ καλκοῦ(δρ.) .η
                          δ(ε)ίλης(δρ.) κ
                          (γίν.) της ημέρας (δρ.).
                               \bar{\iota} \pi \rho \omega \hat{\iota} d\rho \gamma (\nu \rho.) (\delta \rho.) ..[]
10
                           δ(ε)ίλη[ς
                          (γίν.) τῆ[ς ἡμέρας
                     ια πρω[ί
    Col. III
      15
     ιε πρω[ὶ
                                      ]η
    Col. IV
    []..ωνι qβ ζ [βουλουπαιου (δρ.) δ]
```

#### Frag. B vso: Col. I: traces

```
Col. II
                                             Col. III
   ξΩρος Πόντου
                                            Περοβάστις ..ατροσ..
    "Αδρ\α/(στος) 'Αθην\ω/() υίός
                                             υείός
   υείός
                                             Γαβινις*
20 Πετοσίρις λαχανη()
                                             υίὸς 'Αχι()
   Πανετβεῦις Σενθέ(ως)
                                             traces
   άδελφός
                                        35
                                            traces
      (\gamma i \nu.) [..] \rho \varsigma
                                             άδελφός
   υεί(ὸς) Πετεαρμ\ώ/(τος)
                                             Στίλβων
25 Μικίων 'Ωρίωνος
                                             υείός
   Θεόφιλος
                                             υ....
    .εβεως
                                             άδελφός
                ]ς L
                                             Παμ...
               ]..[ ]ç L
```

Col. IV and V: traces of twelve lines apiece.

Frag. D vso:

Col. II Col. I τὸ [κα]θ' εν τῶν ἐσχη(κότων) κ...ον λόγος ιμα..ου ... μηνας (δρ.) ς 'Ιμούθη(ς) 'Ηρ\α/() ς Σαβείνου (δρ.). Έστιῆς Θεοφ() ς 45 ....εξανδρον η 'Ανθαγόρας() .... ς Ίσκυρίωνος η Νικ() Καπ... τιμής χι(τῶνος) γυναικ(είου) (δρ.) μη ώσται Ζην**ậ** ιβ τιμής οιμουνου ι  $(\gamma i \nu.) \dot{\alpha} \rho \gamma (\nu \rho.) (\delta \rho.) \lambda \varsigma$ Col. IV Col. III 70 η ταριχευται'[ τὸ καθ' εν \τῶν/ ἐνεχύρων 'Αρχιῶσις [ Δαμᾶς Κα traces άδελφός [ Χῶρος Σενθέως αικρο.ν Θεῦς [ 60 /Κάστωρ Διομή(δου) ἱμάτιν Κριὸς χι(τῶν) ἀνδρην Σαρα[πί]ων [ 75 Ειαι 'Ροδίππος ....ρ...κον 'Αρφαῆσις Σενθέως ἱμάτιν ( Ἡρωνδης\* Κόσμου ἱμάτιν 65 'Ατρῆς Φορήους\* ἀνδρη() ("Αδρα(στος) Κοῦρις Ζ ἀνδρη( ) παιδίου Ψενοβάστις Σ...άζου ἱμάτιν ἀν[δ]ρη() ( Ίμούθης Περοβάστεως\* χι(τῶν) γυναικω(ν)

2577

- 1 *l.* πρωί.
- l. ἄλλοι.
- 3 Ι. χαλκοῦ.
- 16 βουλουπαιου: non liquet.
- 21 Πανετβεθις: Cf. Vergote 13.
- 25 = rto. 39.
- 30 = rto. 322
- 42 *l.* ἱματίου.
- 48 tiung oimouvou: non liquet.
- 55 l. ώστε. Nik- in l. 54 pays for himself and Zenas.
- 59 = rto. 18.
- 60ff. *l*. ἱμάτιον.
- 61ff. l. ἀνδρεῖος: Cf. Z. Packman, BASP 25 (1988) 137–148, on the various adjectives signifying "masculine" and "feminine" in the papyri.
- 64 Ἡρωνδῆς: *add. onom*.
- 65 Φορήους: add. onom.
- 67 = rto. 385. L. σχεδιάζου? = σχεδιάζων?
- 68 Περοβάστεως: add. onom.; cf. P. Tebt. 1026: Περευβάστις.

Καθα[( )ο]ἰκοδόμος χι(τῶν) γυναι(κων) παιδίου

- 68, 69 Ι. γυναικείος.
- 70ff. This column apparently belongs to the taxation account on the recto.
- 75  $E_{1}\alpha\pi[1\varsigma, as in rto. 59, is out of the question here.$

# 2578–2587 Declarations of Sheep and Goats

In one fell swoop this cartonnage mummy coffin has produced ten early Roman small animal declarations from the Herakleopoite nome. Heretofore, only two (P. Oxy. Hels. 8; PIFAO I 5) were known from the period B.C., and two sole declarations were known from the Herakleopolite nome for the entire Roman period: VBP II 21 and P. Heid. IV 303 (cf. P. Heid. IV, pp. 76–79). With one exception (2586) from 5 B.C., they all date to the 17th year of Augustus (14/13 B.C.) and were submitted in the month of Mecheir. Apart from 2586 which is addressed to Apollonios, suborn of Herakleides, *strategos* and chief revenue officer, they are all addressed to Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eireinaios, supervisor of the pasture—tax of the Herakleopolite nome for that year. Several of these new documents are collective ones and therefore similar to P. Berl. Möller 7 and P. Oxy. LV 3778.

The constituent elements in these ten new Herakleopolitan declarations are as follows: 1) a marginal note made in the registration office containing: the origin of the declaration, the official's certification that he has received the declaration, and the date; 2) the declaration itself consisting of a) the address (for the most part to adjutants of Eirenaios ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἐννομίῳ); b) a tally of the animals and a formulaic description of their grazing activities; c) the request καταχωρίσαι τὴν ἀπογραφήν; d) either a salutation or the date.

Literature and parallels: S. Avogadro, Aegyptus 15 (1935) 131ff.; J. Rea, P. Oxy. LV, pp. 5–6; C. Nelson, **2489**, introd.; B. Kramer, P. Heid. IV 302, introd.; C. Balconi, Aegyptus 64 (1984) 35–60; R. Coles, P. Oxy. XLVII 3338, introd.; D. Hagedorn, P. Köln IV 188, introd.; *id.*, ZPE 21 (1976) 161–165; P. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 70 (1987) 135–136; A. Hanson, Aegyptus 69 (1989) 61–69; J. Keenan, BASP 26 (1989) 175–200. Special thanks to W. Habermann for helpful comments on these texts.

#### 2578

P. 25166 27 x 10 cm. Poimenon Kome Feb. 4, 13

51

Margins: upper 4, lower 6.5, left 1.5, right minimal. *Kollesis* 2.5 cm. from the right edge. The same script as **2579** and similar to Schubart, Gr. Pal., Abb. 25. Given the damaged state of the papyrus, it is impossible to determine whether or not a docket once stood in the upper margin. Verso blank.

'Ηρα[κ]λείδηι κα[ὶ 'Α]πολλωνίω[ι τοῖς παρὰ] Εἰρηναίου το[ῦ πρὸ]ς τῶι ἐν[νομίωι] τοῦ 'Ηρακλεοπολίτου traces [ Καίσαρος]

53

- παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσί[ο]υ τῶ[ν]
- 5 ἀπὸ Ποιμένων κώμης. ἀπογ[ρά-] φομαι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα τέλεια σ[ύμμι]κτα τεσσαράκοντα πέντε καὶ οἰκιακὸν ἕνα ὥστ᾽ εἶναι πρόβατα τεσσαράκοντα
- 10 εξ αἶγες τρεῖς ἐπιμεμιγμένα δὲ τοῖς 'Ωρίωνος τοῦ Ψενήσιος καὶ 'Ερμίου τοῦ 'Αριστομένου πρόβασι καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους ἄρνας ἐρ[ί]φους νεμόμενα ποτιζόμενα αἀλι-
- 15 [ζόμενα περὶ τὴν κώμην καὶ δ]ι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ. ἐ[ὰν φαίνηται κατα]χωρῖσα[ι] τὴν ἀπ[ονρα]φ[ὴν] ὡς καθήκει.

[.....]ρονο[ς] μονογρ(άφου) [(ἔτους)] ιζ Καίσαρος Μεχεὶρ θ

#### 18 voif

2 ἐν[νομίωι]: see **2452**.3 and J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3779.8, 22 n. for bibliography on the pasturetax.

8 οἰκιακόν: G. Horsley, NDIEC 3, no. 1 commetary, cites other examples of this word in the papyri; however, examples in animal declarations are lacking. This would seem to be an animal kept at home, separate from the others, perhaps as a pet. Cf. C. Gorteman, CdE 32 (1957) 101–120, on the Egyptians' interest in animals. Animals are often greeted in private letters from the pharaonic period down through the Coptic one (pace C. Tsiparis, O. Lund 14.3 n.) Cf. Olsson, Papyrusbriefe, p. 195, citing numerous examples; P. Mich. VIII 482.12 n.; O. Theb. Copt. 36; P. Oxy. XIV 1772; O. Amst. 18.2; O. Florida 15.2, 18.4; BSAC 24 (1982) 10. Animals are given names: P. Mich. VIII 482.12; Enchoria 12 (1984) 59; MDAIK 25 (1969) 224–6; P. Cair. Isid. 137.11 n.; P. Abinn. 60.9; G. Farber, "Rinder mit Namen" in: Zikir Sumim. Assyriological Studies presented to F.R. Kraus (van Driel, Krispijn, Stol and Veenhof, edd.), Leiden 1982; E. Hornung, "Die Bedeutung des Tieres im alten Ägypten," Studium Generale 20 (1967) 83.123; Robert Mond, Oliver Myers, The Bucheum II, London 1934, nos. 1–12 passim; Schnebel 321–322; Wm. Brashear, ZPE 56 (1984) 64; G. Browne, Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III, London 1991, p. 88.

10 ἐπιμεμιγμένα: Various owners' animals are in the herd of one shepherd; cf. Aegyptus 64 (1984) 40. On the neuter plural form of this word cf. B. Boyaval, ZPE 6 (1970)12; H. Frisk, Aegyptus 10 (1929) 95.

12 πρόβασι: Cf. P. Heid. IV 302.19 n., for parallels.

12-13 τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας: Cf. Aegyptus 15 (1935) 171; CPJ III 482; E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 8.1-2 n. E. Boswinkel and P. Pestman, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXII, p. 105, discuss the putative Demotic equivalent which translates "animals that follow their mothers." Cf. J. Keenan, YCS 28 (1985) 252, on flocks segregated according to the age of the sheep. For a Coptic inventory of sheep cf. L. MacCoull, Coptic Documentary Papyri

from the Beinecke Library, Cairo 1986, p. 55.

13 l. ἐφετείους: Cf. S. Kapsomenakis, Vorunters. z. e. Grammatik der Papyri (=MB 28), Munich 1938, 65.l, and D. Hagedorn, P. Hamb. III 229.8 n. and P. Mon. 127.19 n., on ἐφέτος.

13–14 ἄρνας ἐρ[ί]φους: On the asyndeton cf. E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 8.2–3 n. J.

Rea, P. Oxy. 3778.26, cites further parallels.

14-16 Most similar to the wording in these Herakleopolitan declarations is that of Oxyrhynchite documents: ὰ νεμήσεται περὶ ... καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ. In Arsinoite documents one finds: ὰ καὶ μετάξω οὖ / ὁποῦ ὰν αἰρῶμαι. In Hermupolitan ones: κοίτη (κοίτης) ὅλου / παντὸς τόπου. D. Hagedorn, ZPE 21 (1976) 159-167, has analyzed these and other formulations typical for individual nomes. The new Herakleopolitan documents have a characteristically distinct wording, different from all the others, which still serves to assert the same rights: to pasture the animals wherever in the nome the owners so choose. These rights are guaranteed by the fact that they have paid the ἐννόμιον for that year. Cf. D. Hagedorn, *op. cit.* 161, citing Wallace, Taxation 86-88.

16 κατα]χωρισα[ι]: Cf. H.C. Youtie, BASP 15 (1978) 179–183.

#### Translation

To Herakleides and Apollonios, (suborns) of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax in the Herakleopolite nome (for the 17th year of Caesar), from Dionysios, son of Dionysios, one of those from Shepherds' Village. I register for the present year the forty-five miscellaneous adult sheep and one pet (?) belonging to me, *in toto* forty-six, as well as the three goats mixed together with the sheep of Horion, son of Psenesis, and of Hermias, son of Aristomenes, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing, watering and abiding around the village and throughout the nome. (If it should please you, record) the registration, as is the custom.

#### 2579

P. 25290 17 x 10.3 cm. Pois Feb. 4, 13

Margins: upper 2, right  $\pm$  3, lower 3 cm. *Kollesis* 0.4–1 cm. from the right edge. Maybe the same hand as on **2578**. On the back at the bottom, written by a different hand in the opposite direction, is a single line – probably a stray note – with the numerals forty and six hundred fifty-.

- (m.2) ]νων ] ιη
- (m.1) ].ι τοῖς παρ' Εἰρη[ναί]ου
   Ἡρ]ακλεοπολείτου τ[ὸ] ἐνεστὸς
   Καίσ]αρος
- 5 καισμαρος ]ρίωνος τῶν ἀπὸ Πώεως

55

Ι ἀπογράφομαι είς τὸ τὰ ὑπαρ]χοντά μοι πρόβατα τέληα ] εξ αίγες έννέα καὶ

] ἐπετήους ἄρνας ἐρείφους 10 Ή]οακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου Ιεων νεμόμενα καὶ **μενα έν τη περί Πωιν** ] έὰν οὖν φαίνηται κατα-

15 χωρίσαι] ώς καθήκει. Καί]σαρος Μεχεὶρ θ

άνέγΙνων?

The number following *iota* is illegible. Already fifteen animals are cited in the body of the document (1.9).

Ι, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος.

Πώεως: Cf. 2436.2; P. Hels. I 27.3; P. Pestman, P. Tor. Amenothes, p. 73, on the etymolo-

Ι. τέλεια.

Ι. ἐφετείους, ἐρίφους.

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) I have read it. 18. (1st hd.) (To Herakleides and Apollonios, (suborns of Eirenaios) who is in charge of the pasture-tax in the) Herakleopolite (nome) for the present (17th year of) Caesar, from N.N., son of -rion, one of those from Pois. I register for the present year the six (miscellaneous) adult sheep, nine goats and ... belonging to me, (as well as this year's accompanying) lambs (and) kids ... (mixed together with the ...) of Herakleides, son of Herakleides, ... pasturing, (watering and abiding) in the ... around Pois (and throughout the nome). (If it should please you, record) the registration, as is the custom. (In the 17th year of) Caesar, Mecheir 9.

# 2580

P. 25291 15.5 x 16.5 cm. Tosachmis Feb. 12, 13

Margins: upper 3, left 4.3 cm., right: variable. Kollesis almost flush with the right edge. Verso blank.

Το σάχμεως (m.2)

Τοσ]άχμιν εἴλ/(ηφα) (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρς Με\χ/(εὶρ) ιζ (m.3)

(m.1) [ 'Ηρακλειδη καὶ] 'Απολλωνίω τοῖς παρ' Εἰρηναίου [τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἐν]νομίωι τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολειτου

[τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο]ς ιζ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος

[παρὰ ]...ωνος τοῦ "Ηρωνος τῶν άπογράφ ομαι είς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος έξ ὑπαρ-[χόντων μ]οι πρόβατα τ[έλεια σύμμικ-] [τα] ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ο[.....]

10 δύο καὶ [τοὺ]ς ἐπακολ{λ}ουθοῦν[τας ἐφε-] τήους ἄρνας ἐρίφους νεμόμε[να καὶ] ποτιζόμενα αὐλιζόμενα περὶ Τοσάχμιν

1-2 Docket written by an underling in the registrar's office summarizing the essential elements of the declaration; cf. B. Kramer, P. Heid. IV 302 I 1-2 n.; C. Balconi, Aegyptus

Το σάχμεως: For further attestations see 2436.4 n.; D. Hagedorn, P. Heid. IV 301 II 14

ἐφετείους

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) ... of Tosachmis. (3rd hd.) ... Tosachmis. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 17. (1st hd.) (To Heraklides and) Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios (who is in charge of the) pasture-tax in the Herakleopolite nome (for the present) 17th year of Caesar, from -on, son of Heron, one of those from .... I register for the same year the one hundred and fifty (miscellaneous adult) sheep and two ... belonging to me, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing, watering and abiding around Tosachmis ....

#### 2581

P. 25292 21.7 x 11.7 cm.

14/13

Margins: upper 3, left 0.8 cm., right: variable. Verso blank.

'Ηρακλείδη[ι καὶ 'Απολλωνίωι τ]οῖς παρὰ Εἰρηναίου τοῦ π[ρὸς τῷ ἐννομί]ῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου [τοῦ ἐνεσ]τῶτος ιζ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος.

- παρὰ Ζ[...]νο[ς τοῦ] ᾿Απολλωνίου τῶν ἀπὸ [.]..κακ...[....]ν. ἀπογράφομ[αι] πρόβατα τέλεια σύνμικτα πεντήκοντα καὶ αἶγα[ς τ]έσσαρες καὶ έπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους ἄρνας
- έρίφους καὶ τὰ ἐπι[με]μιγμένα μοι Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ζ[ή]νωνος πρόβατα πέντε

57

καὶ ποιμ.[....]ταεν[..]..ταδη ἐνλιπόντα πρ......ραφαν τοῦ ἐκκαιδεκάτου ἔτους .[ διεφ]θάρθαι νεμόμ15 ενα καὶ πο[τιζόμενα καὶ αὐλιζόμ]ενα περ[ὶ]
τὴν κ[ώμη]ν [καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ]
traces
traces

3 L

7 *l*. σύμμικτα

9 *l*. ἐφετείους. 12–13 *l*. ἐλλιπόντα.

14 διεφ]θάρθαι: Cf. 133.6-11, 2235.7, 2237.15.

#### Translation

To Heraklides (and Apollonios), suborns of Eirenaios who (is in charge of the pasture-tax) of the Herakleopolite nome (for the) present 17th year of Caesar), from Z-, son of Apollonios, one of those from .... I register the fifty miscellaneous adult sheep and four goats as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids mixed together with the five sheep of Zenon, son of Zenon, and ... remainder ... sixteenth year ... perished, pasturing, (watering and abiding) around the village (and throughout the nome) ....

#### 2582

P. 25293 29.5 x 12 cm. Phebichis Feb. 20, 13

Margins: upper 5, left: variable (1.5 - 2.8 cm.), right: negligible, lower 7 cm. Verso blank.

(m.2) Φεβίχεως Κωεί\τ/(ου) ε[ί]\λ/(ηφα) (ἔτους) ιζ Καί(σαρος) Με\χ/(εὶρ) κ $\bar{\epsilon}$ 

(m.1) Ἡρακλίδη καὶ ἀπολλωνίωι τοῖς παρ' Εἰρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἐννομίῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος ιζ ἔτους]

5 Καίσαρος.

10

παρὰ ..ον...[ το]ῦ Ἡρακλίδου τῶν ἀπὸ Φεβ[ί]χεως
τοῦ Κωείτου. ἀπογράφομαι τὰ
ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα τέληα σύνμικτα πεντήκοντα πέν-

τε καὶ ἐπιμεμιγμένα μοι—Σεμθέως "Ωρου Φυχίτης πρόβ[α-]
τα εἴκοσι πέντε αἶξ ις καὶ
'Ερμνενοῦχις [.]......[ ]υχίτης

15 δεκα[ε]ξ καὶ Σαρα[πίωνος
δεκα καὶ "Ωρου .[..]..[ ]
καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους ἄρνας ἐρίφους νεμόμενα ποτιζόμενα περὶ τὴν προκ(ε)ιμέ-

20 νην κώμην καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ. ἐὰν φαίνηται καταχωρῖσαι [τὴ]ν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει.

#### εὐτύχ(ε)ι

1 L

1,8 Φεβίχεως: See BGU XIV, pp. 221–222; P. Hels. I, p. 36; P. Heid. IV 301 II 14–15; Falivene 208-209, on the varying administrative units to which Phebichis was assigned over the course of centuries.

9–10 *l*. τέλεια.

10 Ι. σύμμικτα.

12 *l.* Φυχίτου.

13 l. αἶγας.

14 l. Φ]υχίτου?, Ψ]υχίτου?: See on the latter P. Heid. IV 303 II 2 n.; A. Leone, "Psychis – un villagio egiziano di Herakleopolites," Tempo Nuovo 30 (1985) 16–29.

17 Ι. ἐφετείους.

Concluding salutations are relatively unusual in these documents (S. Avogadro, Aegyptus 15 [1935] 172).

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) Of Phebichis. Of Koites. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 25. (1st hd.) To Heraklides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome for the present (17th year) of Caesar, from N.N., son of Heraklides, one of those from Phebichis of the Koites. I register the fifty-five miscellaneous adult sheep belonging to me, as well as the twenty-five sheep and 16 goats belonging to Semtheus, son of Horos, a Phychite (i.e. from the village of Phychis), and the sixteen ... belonging to Hermnenuchis, ... a uchite, and the ten (?) belonging to Sarapion, and the ... of Horos ... mixed together with mine, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing (and) watering around the aforementioned village and throughout the nome. If it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell.

P. 25294 27.2 x 12 cm. Phnebieus Feb. 5, 13

Margins: upper 3, left 2.5, right: negligible, lower 6 cm. Kollesis 1.8 cm. from the left.

(m.2) Φνεβι(έως) ἔ\σ/(χον) (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρ\ο/(ς) Με\χ/(εὶρ)  $\bar{\iota}$ 

(m.1) Ἡρακλίδη καὶ ᾿Απολλωνίωι τοῖς παρ᾽ Εἰρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἐὐνομίῳ τοῦ Ἡρ[ακλεοπολίτου τὸ] ἐπτακαι-

5 δέκατον ἔτ[ος Κα]ί[σ]αρ[ος] παρὰ ᾿Απολλ... τοῦ Ο.[..]..ασσασ... προεστῶτος τῶν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ Σιμαρίστου τῶν ᾿απὸ Φνε[βιέως] ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ προκ(ε)ίμ[ενο]ν

10 έπτακαιδέκατον έτος Καίσαρος τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα [τέλεια] σύνμεικτα διακόσια ἑξήκοντα ὀκτω καὶ τοὺ⟨ς⟩ ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους ἄρνας καὶ αἶγας δεκαεπτὰ καὶ ἐρείφους

15 καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου ..
τε...ς ἐπιμεμιγμένας τοῖς ἐμοῖς προβάτοις πρόβατα τέλεια ἐννέα σὺν
ἄρνασι ὥστ' εἶναι τὸ πῶν πρόβατα

20 νεμόμενα καὶ ποτιζόμενα καὶ αὐλιζόμενα περί Φνεβιέα καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ. ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνηται καταχωρῖσαι τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει. εὐτυχεῖτε

Φνεβι(έως): See BGU VIII *passim*, XIV **2434**.28, **2438**.22; P. Köln II 99.1 n.; Falivene 205.

Mεγχ/(εὶρ) <u>τ̄</u>: The cipher might also be read as *beta* since up and down strokes are vis-

7 προεστῶτος: Cf. G. Parassoglou, Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt (= ASP 18), Amsterdam 1978, 53 (ref. thanks to W. Habermann).

15-16 *l*. ετέρας ?

All told there were 268 + 17 + 9 = 294 beasts, and one expects here some sort of corresponding wording. However, the remaining traces are eminently inconclusive.

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) Of Phnebieus. I have had it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 10. (1st hd.) To Heraklides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the (Herakleopolite nome) for the seventeenth year of Caesar, from Apoll-, son of N.N., overseer of the (sheep) of Herakleios, son of Simaristos, one of those from Phnebieus. I register for the aforementioned seventeenth year of Caesar the two hundred and sixty-eight miscellaneous (adult) sheep belonging to me as well as this year's accompanying lambs and seventeen goats and kids as well as the nine adult sheep of Herakleides, son of Herakleides, ... mixed together with mine, so that there are in all ... sheep, pasturing, watering and abiding around Phnebieus and throughout the nome. I ask, if it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell.

# 2584

P. 25295 14 x 13.5 cm. Herakleopolites Feb. 20, 13

Margins: upper 1.7, left 3, right: negligible. *Kollesis* 1 – 1.5 cm. from the left. Verso blank.

(m. 2) ... εἴ $\lambda$ /(ηφα) (ἔτους) ιζ Καί(σαρος) Με $\chi$ /(εἰρ) κε

(m.1) Ἡρακλείδηι και ᾿Απολλωνίωι τοῖς παρ᾽ Εἰρη[ναίου τοῦ] [πρὸς τῶι ἐννομίωι τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου

]....[

5 παρὰ [..].[.]ρέωνος traces
τῶν ἀπὸ Τιλ....ευ τοῦ Κωίτου. ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (ἔτος) τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα [τέλεια] σύμμικτα traces
traces καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦν-

τας ἐπετ[ήου]ς ἄρνας ἐρίφους νεμόμεν[α] ποτιζόμ[ενα] αὐλιζόμενα περὶ τὴν πρ[ο-] κειμένη[ν κώ]μην ενπτο[.]κλωτ[ ] δι' ὅλου τοῦ [νο]μοῦ. ἐὰν φαίνηται κατα[χω-] ρῦσαι τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει. εὐτύχ(ει)

1,7 L 1 Kai

Tιλ....ευ: The next to last letter could also be beta or theta.

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 25. (1st hd.) To Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome ... From -reon, son of N.N., one of those from Til..eu of the Koites. I register for the same year the ... sheep belonging to me ... and this year's accompanying lambs (and) goats, pasturing, watering and abiding around the aforementioned village ... and throughout the entire nome. If it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell.

#### 2585

P. 25296 9.2 x 17 cm. Peens-Feb., 13

Margins: upper 3.3, left 1.5, right: negligible. Verso blank.

(m. 2) Πεενσ[...] εἴ $\lambda/(ηφα)$  (ἔτους) [ι]ζ Καίσαρ $\delta/(ζ)$  Με $\delta/(εὶρ)$  [..]

- (m.1) 'Ηρακλείδη καὶ 'Απολλωνίωι τοῖς παρ' Εἰρηναίου [τοῦ πρὸς τῶι] ἐννομίωι τοῦ 'Ηρακλεοπολίτου τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἑπτακαι[δ]έκατον [ἔ]τος Καίσαρος.
- traces
   traces [ἀπογράφο]μαι εἰς τὸ προ[..].....
   τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα τέλεια [σ] ὑμμικτα εκ....οντα [....] traces εξ καὶ τοὺς ἐπακο[λ]ουθοῦντας ἐπ[ετήους

1 Πεενσ[: Various Herakleopolitan village names could be restored; cf. BGU XIV, p. 279.

6 προ[..].....: Presumably προκείμενον.

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) Peens-. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir ... (1st hd.) "To Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios (who is in charge of the) pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome for the present seventeenth year of Caesar. ... I register for the aforementioned (?) ... (year) the ... miscellaneous adult sheep belonging to me as well as this year's accompanying ....

2586

P. 25297 21.3 x 12.5 cm.

January 28, 5

Margins: left 2 cm.  $Kollesis \pm 4$  cm. from the left. Verso blank.

This declaration presents by far the largest number of sheep and goats ever registered for one individual. In other documents recording hundreds or thousands of animals, apparently corporations or sometimes even whole villages are involved (e.g. P. Wash. Univ. I I; P. Berl. Möller 7, P. Hamb. I 34; P. Oxy. Hels. 8). Individuals rarely declared hundreds of sheep (e.g. P. Amh. 73; P. Hamb I 34). Cf. C. Balconi, Aegyptus 64 (1984) 43–44.

(m.2)  $T\eta\nu...[$ 

- (m.1) 'Απολλωνίωι τῶι παρὰ 'Ηρακλείδου στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων παρὰ Θεοφίλου τοῦ προεστῶτος τῶν
- 5 'Αθηνοδώρου τοῦ Φιλοξένου προβάτων.
  ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς κε (ἔτος) Καίσαρος
  τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῶι 'Αθηνοδώρωι πρόβατα
  τέλεια σύμμικτα τρισχίλια διακόσια, αἶγες
  πεντήκοντα δύο \τρεῖς/ καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας
- 10 ἐφετήους ἄρν[α]ς καὶ τῶι/ ἐρίφους νεμόμενα ποτιζόμενα αὐλιζόμενα ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βουσῖριν καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ. ἐὰν φαίνηται καταχωρίσαι τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει. εὐτύχει.
- 15 (m.3) ὧν  $^{\circ}\Omega$ ρος πρόβα(τα) 'Αρμε αἶγ\ε/(ς) κζ Πέρα Πετεαρ.[.]ν\ι/( ) ψπ αἶγε(ς) ις Πανεχώ(της) 'ΑΣοε αἶγ\ε/(ς) ις (γίν.) τὰ προκ(είμενα) πρόβα(τα) 'ΓΣ αἶγ(ες) νγ

(m.4) κατακεχ(ώρηκα) (ἔτους) κε Καίσαρος Μεχεὶρ β

- 1 Την...[: Cf. P. Hels. I 20: Τνήει and J. Frösén *ad loc*. However, the reading here seems clear.
- 2 'Απολλωνίωι τῶι παρὰ 'Ηρακλείδου: unknown.
- Ἡρακλείδου στρατηγοῦ: The same strategos of 1188.1 (after 15/14) and maybe 2609.1.
  2-3 στραγηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων: These two offices were already combined under Ptolemaic administration (H. Bengtson, Die Strategie i. d. hellenistischen Zeit III [= MB 36], Munich 1952, 253 s.v.; Wilcken, Gdzge. 149; W. Kunkel, APF 8 [1927] 178). For the

continuation of this practice in the early Roman period see Oertel, Liturgie 385-386.

4-5 Cf. **2629**.7.

63

5 'Αθηνοδώρου τοῦ Φιλοξένου: Is this the same Athenodoros, dioecete and epimelete, whose archive is published in this volume? The discrepant filiation militates against this, since this Athenodoros is son of Philoxenos and the other son of Menelaos (see **2615**).

l. αἶγας.

10 *l.* καὶ τούς?

14 pap. <u>ε̄υ</u>τυχ<u>ε̄ι</u>

15ff. These are undoubtedly the names of the shepherds and goatherds with the corresponding number of animals under their care. Cf. P. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 70 (1987) 135–136; D. Hagedorn, P. Heid. IV 303.12 n.

Πέρα: a toparchy; cf. **2662**.12 n.; Falivene 207.

The figures for the sheep tally with the number given in line 8. The number of goats, however, results in 59. According to line 9 there are only 53.

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) Ten-. (1st hd.) To Apollonios, (suborn) of Heraklides, *strategos* and head of the revenues, from Theophilos, supervisor of the sheep of Athenodoros, son of Philoxenos. I register for the present 25th year of Caesar the three thousand two hundred miscellaneous adult sheep and fifty-three goats as well as this year's accompanying lambs and the kids pasturing, watering and abiding around Busiris and throughout the nome. If it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell. (3rd hd.) Horos: 1145 sheep, 27 goats; (in the toparchy of) Pera: Petear-: 780 (sheep), 16 goats; Panechotes: 1275 (sheep), 16 goats; total of the aforementioned sheep 3200, goats 53.

(4th hd.) I have registered it. Year 25 of Caesar, Mecheir 2.

# 2587

P. 25298 16 x 10.5 cm. Tilothis Jan./Feb., 13

Margins: upper ca. 1 cm., left 1.5 cm., right negligible.

(m.2) Τιλώθε\ω/(ς) ἔλ(αβον) (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρ(ος) Με\χ/(εὶρ) [..]

(m. 1) Ἡρακλε[ίδη καὶ 'Α]πολλωνίωι τοῖς παρ' Εἰρηναίου πρὸς τῷ ἐν(ν)ομίῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου τὸ ἐνεστὸς ιζ ... π-

5 αρὰ "Αμμωνος τοῦ 'Αμφονείκου τῶν ἀπὸ Τιλώθεως κατοίκων καὶ παρὰ [break of five lines]

12 τα πάντα πρόβατα [τ]έλεια ... δε..[..]τε[.]ασ.. ἐπι[μεμ]ιγμένα ἀλλή-λοις καὶ τοὺς ἐ[πακολου]θοῦντας

15 ἄρνας ἐρίφους ν[εμόμεν]α ποτιζόμενα καὶ αὐλ[ιζόμενα περ]ὶ

Τιλῶθιν καὶ δι' ὅλου [τοῦ νομοῦ. ἐὰν] φαίνηται καταχωρῖσαι ...

'Αμφονείκου: This is the first instance of this name in Egypt.

ἐπι[μεμ]ιγμένα ἀλλήλοις: Cf. B. Boyaval, ZPE 6 (1970) 12; H. Frisk, Aegyptus 10 (1929)
 95.

#### Translation

(2nd hd.) Of Tilothis. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir .... (1st hd.) To Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome for the present 17th ... from Ammon, son of Amphoneikes, one of the *catoecs* from Tilothis and from ... the entire adult sheep ... mixed together with the others, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing, watering and abiding around Tilothis and throughout (the nome. If) it should please you, record ....

# 2588 Receipt

P. 25306 14.5 x 12.8 cm.

10/9

Margins: upper 1.7, left 1.3, right negligible. The papyrus is of especially coarse quality. A strip with vertically running fibers 0.5 cm. wide has been attached at the upper right and the right line ends have been written over it. To the right of the receipt is attached a blank piece of papyrus of approximately the same format which probably should have been removed during the extraction of this papyrus from the cartonnage. Verso blank.

Korkas, a banker, certifies having received from Paas, son of Paas, a beer-seller, payments for beer, bread(?) and various other commodities.

Κορκᾶς τρ(απεζίτης) ζυτοπ\ώ/(λη)
Παᾶς Παᾶτος χαίρ[(ειν). ἀπέχω]
παρά σου τὴν τιμὴ(ν) ζ[ύ]το[υ]
ἐπὶ λόγ\ο/(ν) ἀφ' \ὧ/(ν) ὀφείλε[ται ὑπὸ]

5 τῆς γυναικός σου ὀβολ(οὺς) δε\κ/(α)πέντε (γίν.) ιε (ἔτους) κα Καίσα(ρος) ....() κ[.] ὁμο(ίως) κῆ ὑπὲρ ᾿Αμμωνί[ου] ωσ .\/() ᾿Ακουσι\λ/(άφ) Εὐδαίμο[νος]

10 τι\μ/(ῆς) ἀρτ\δ/( ) δραχ\μ/(ὰς) τέσσαρας (γίν.)(δρ.)  $\delta$  traces ειδ( ) ὀβολ(όὺς) δέ\κ/(α) δύο (γίν.) ιβ  $\delta$ ε\κ/(α) ι. .λ..

65

].δύο ὀβολλ/(οὺς)

1τρ 3 την 6/7 L καισ .... 9 ... η 10 την, / ( 11... δ , /

- 1 ζυτοπνώ/(λη): Cf. C. Nelson, BGU XV, pp. 88–89; H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 82–86 (add P. Sattler, Studien aus dem Gebiet der alten Geschichte Wiesbaden 1962, 37–38).
- 1. Παᾶτι.
- 9 l. ώστε?: Cf. **2577** vso. 55.
- 10  $\alpha$ ργ.\δ/()?,  $\alpha$ ρι\δ/?,  $\dot{\alpha}$ ρτ(ι)\δ/(ίου)? on the latter of which see Battaglia, Artos 73.
- 11 Ι. δώδεκα.

#### Translation

Korkas, banker, to Paas, son of Paas, beer-seller, greetings. (I have received) from you the price of beer on account from that which was owed (by) your wife: fifteen obols, total 15. In the 21st year of Caesar, (month) 2-. Similarly on the 28th, (I received) on behalf of Ammonios ..., for Akusilaos, son of Eudaimon, for the price of bread (?), four drachmas, total 4 dr. ... twelve obols, total 12 ob. ....

# 2589–2593 Declarations on Oath

Except for 2589 the following declarations on oath derive from the same coffin which produced the archive of Athenodoros.

2589

P. 25157 27 x 15.8 cm. Techtho August 5, 28

Margins: left 0.8 cm., lower 4.3 cm.; right: variable. Interlinear space between lines 2 and 3: 4.5 cm. Except for a thin strip on the right, the upper third of the papyrus has broken off. The document in question, however, occupies only the lower third of the papyrus. In the upper left corner are remnants of an account written in a different hand. One gets the impression that someone used the space at the end of an account and at the bottom of a larger sheet of papyrus for writing his cession of land. The document is written in a script very similar to that of **2591**. On the verso are faint traces of an account arranged according to days.

Soterichos, son of Aphrodisios, swears that he will cede his claims on ten aruras of land in Ponches's tract to Herakleios, son of Herakleides. Unusual and inexplicable is the exact nature of the relationship between Soterichos and a certain Herodes, son of Herodes (Il. 6–7). Taking the Greek preposition εἰς in line 6 at face

value gives the impression that Soterichos has the land for Herodes, as if he were holding it in safe-keeping for Herodes who might be a minor or otherwise incapable of assuming full possession of the land for himself.

Parallel documents are numerous, e.g. P. Tebt. 380; P. Mich. 350–352; P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 10; SB XII 10880, 10881, 11233. Demotic parallels: Pestman, Recueil, pp. 6ff.; K.-Th. Zauzich, Die ägyptische Schreibertradition, Wiesbaden 1968, 73ff. For further discussion cf. A.B. Schwarz, Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Ägypten, Leipzig 1920, 207ff., especially 219f.; Mitteis, Gdzge., pp. 167ff.; P.J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 19 (1979) 87–99.

].[ ].[

(m.1) ]ve( ) ye\ $\omega$ /( $\rho\gamma$ - ) ed.

(m.2) Σωτήριχος 'Αφροδισίου τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τεχθ[ω]ι ὀμνύω{ι} Καισαρον Αὐτοκράτορα Θεοῦ Υἱὸν εἶ μὴν

- 5 ἐξίστασθαι Ἡρακλείωι Ἡρακλείδου τῶν ἐν τῶι Πογχήους πεδίου ὑπαρχούσων μοι εἰς Ἡρώδην Ἡρώδου [ά]ρουρῶν δέκα καὶ μήτε ἐπελεύσεσθ[αι] μηδὲ μη[δέν]α τῶν υἱῶν μου μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μηδένα ἢ ἐκστήσω τοῖς ἰδίοις
- 10 ἀνηλώμασι. εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴηι έφιορκοῦντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.

(ἔτους) β Καίσαρος Μεσορ\ή/ ιβ

- T<sub>εχ</sub>θ[ω]<sub>1</sub>: Cf. **2440**.38f. n. and p. 222; P. Hels. I, p. 108.; Falivene 207-208.
- 4 ὀμνὖω: Cf. Seidl, Eid I, 17ff.; Wilcken, Chrest. 111 introd., for the form of the oath. l. Καίσαρα A.Θ.Y.: This titulature, which is attested in **543**, corresponds to the Latin Caesar Imperator divi filius (U. Wilcken, APF 6 [1920] 423; id., Gdzge. 120; id., Chrest., p. 142). On Augustus's titulatures and epithets in general see: Geraci, Genesi 153f.; D. Kienast, Römische Kaisertabelle, Darmstadt 1990, 61–68; M. Amelotti in: Egitto e storia antica 243f.
- 6 Πογχήους, Νογχήους?: Cf. **1197.2**: Νουχεως, **198**.2: Νουχιους; Drew-Bear 146: Κολογχήους. *Ι.* πεδίω.
- 9 ἐκστήσω scil. τὸν ἐπελεύσομενον.

#### Translation

I, Soterichos, son of Aphrodisios, one of those from the village of Techthoi, verily swear by Caesar Emperor, Son of God, that I cede to Herakleios, son of Herakleides, the ten aruras belonging to me for Herodes, son of Herodes, in the tract of Ponches, and that neither (I) nor any of my sons nor any other on our behalf shall prosecute him, otherwise I shall expel (him) at my own expense. May it be well for me if I swear truly; if I do not, then the opposite. Year 2 of Caesar, Mesore 12.

P. 25233 29.5 x 22 cm. Korphotoi August 1, 25

Margins: left 2 cm., right negligible, upper: 5 cm., lower: 7.5 (on the left document), 9 cm. (on the right document). Intercolumnar: 2.5 cm. *Kollesis* 8.5 cm. from the left. Verso blank.

The village elders of Korphotoi swear that they will undertake the upkeep of three canals near the village and in an accompanying document on the same sheet of papyrus acknowledge the receipt of 120 silver drachmas in funding for this work. For further discussion on the implications of this document see BASP 16 (1979) 25ff., where this papyrus was first published. In the meantime a small fragment has been added to the lower right corner of the document on the left and several readings improved.

Cf. Suetonius, Vit. Aug. 18, on Augustus's concern for the canals of Egypt. In general, R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Antike Wasserkultur, Munich 1990.

Col. I

['Ατρῆ]ς 'Αρπαήσιος [κα]ὶ Λαδάμας Πελάσιος καὶ 'Αρσιῆσις ''Ωρου καὶ Πετεῦρις Πετοσίριος καὶ 'Ατρῆς Σεμθέως καὶ Σεμθονάης Μεγχείους καὶ 'Αρσισόις 'Αρπαήσιος πρεσβύτεροι τῶν

- 5 ἀπὸ κώμης Κορφοτοὶ ὀμνύομεν Θεὸν Αὐτοκράτορα Καίαρα Θεοῦ Υἱὸν εἶ μὴν ἄξειν καὶ στεγνώσειν καὶ παρυλιεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν κώμην δημόσια χώματα τρία ὧν εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον Ζανήριος καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον—
- 10 Μεγάλης όδοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ λιβὸς το[ῦ .].ωνίου παραδείσου καὶ ἐπισκάψειν καὶ .[..]αρήσειν ... νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρα[ς ...]μένον [ ± 8 ] α....ραγη καὶ α.ακοπα μέχ[ρι τῆς] τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποβάσεως ὄντες ἀλλη[λέγγυοι]
- 15 ε... εὐορκοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν εὖ εἴη [  $\pm 8$  ]α

 $\sim$ 

έγράφη διὰ Θέωνος [μ]ονογρ\ά/(φου)
[διὰ τὸ] φάσκειν μὴ [ε]ἰδέναι [γ]ρ[άμ]μ\α/(τα)
(ἔτους) . [Με]σορὴ η¯

Col. II

'Ατρῆς 'Αρπαήσιος κ[αὶ αὐτοῦ] ἀδελφὸς 'Αρσισόις καὶ Λαδάμας Πελάσιος καὶ 'Αρσιῆσις "Ωρου καὶ 'Ατρῆς Σεμθέως καὶ Σεμθονάης Μεγχείους τῶν ἀπὸ

- 5 κώμης Κορφοτοὶ Ἡρακλείωι τοπάρχηι Ἡγήματος. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπέχειν παρά σου διὰ τῆς Ἡρείου δημοσίας τραπέζης εἰς ἀπεργασίαν ὧν κεχειρογραφήκαμεν χωμάτων
- 10 τριῶ[ν] περὶ τὴν κώμη[ν] ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἐκα[τ]ὸν εἴκοσι (γίν.) (δρ.) ρ[κ ...] ὰς καὶ ἀπεργώμεθα ἐξ ὑγιοῦς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκαλοῦμεν.

~

15

ἐγράφη διὰ Θέωνος μονογρ\ά/(φου) διὰ τὸ

φάσκειν μὴ εἰδέναι γράμμα(τα)

(ἔτους) ε Με(σ)ορή η-

Col. I

1 Λαδάμας: Cf. **2600**.1 n.

7 τὰ: BASP τ[ά].

8 τρία: ΒΑSΡ τ[ρία].

5 Κορφοτοί: Cf. **2436.**ll n.; Calderini-Daris, Dizionario and Dizionario. Suppl. s.v.

10 το[ῦ .].ωνίου: ΒΑSΡ το[ῦ Αμ]μωνίου.

11 Ικρησειν?

12 νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρα[ς: ΒΑSΡ...δεικτας καὶ πεφ[.

13 λίμνη αἰγιαλή? Cf. D. Bonneau, YCS 28 (1985) 131–143. κοπα: Cf. P. Bour. 15. 142: Κοπᾶ. Are these maybe place names here?

14 ἀλλη[λέγγυοι]: ΒΑSP αν[.

15 ε...: ΒΑSΡ εἶναι.

16 μονογρ\ά/(φου): BASP ν[ομογρ(άφου)].

17 [ε]ἰδέναι [γ]ρ[αμ]μ\α/(τα): BASP [εἰδέναι γράμμ]α(τα)

18 (ἔτους) . [Με]σορὴ η -: BASP (ἔτους) . [ ] -

Col. II

6 'Αγήματος: Cf. BGU XIV, p. 220; **2392**.2 n., **2562**.5n.

14 μονογρ\ά/(φου): BASP νομογρ(άφου).

#### Translation

We, Hatres, son of Harpaesis; Ladamas, son of Pelasis; Harsiesis, son of Horos; Peteuris, son of Petosiris; Hatres, son of Semtheus; Semthonaes, son of Menches; and Harsisois, son of Harpaesis, elders of the inhabitants of the village Korphotoi, swear by the deified Emperor Caesar, son of God, that we will establish (?), make watertight and clean out the three public canals near the village, namely the so-called (canal of) Zaneris, the so-called (canal of) the Great Way, and (the canal) to

the west of -nios' garden - that we will dig (them) out and ... night and day ... until the river recedes ... acting (as mutual guarantors for each other) .... May it be well with us if we swear truly; (if not, the opposite).

It was written by Theon, *monographos*, (because) they say they are illiterate. Year 5. Mesore 8.

Hatres, son of Harpaesis; and (his) brother Harsisois; Ladamas, son of Pelasis; Harsiesis, son of Horos; Hatres, son of Semtheus; and Semthonaes, son of Menches, inhabitants of the village Korphotoi, to Herakleios, *toparch* of Agema. We acknowledge having received from you through the public bank of Arios, for the maintenance of the three canals near the village which we have specified in writing, one hundred and twenty silver drachmas, total 120 dr., for which we will duly work, and we will not start any prosecution.

It was written by Theon, monographos, because they say they are illiterate.

#### 2591

P. 25385 25.2 x 13.5 cm. Tertonpetochen August 4, 2

Margins: upper 9.5, lower 8.5, left 1.5 cm., right negligible. The hand is remarkably similar to that of **2589.** 

The object of concern here is a run-down house worth 80 silver drachmas, seemingly part of an inheritance. However, given the abraded state of much of the papyrus and the ambiguous forms of some of the letters, so far it has proved impossible to determine what is happening to the house.

Αντ[....]νυσ[..]..[.].να ἀπὸ τῆς Τερτονπετοχην τοῦ ᾿Αγήματος ὀμνύω Καίσαρα Αὐ[τοκράτορα] Θεοῦ Υί[ὸ]ν Δία Ἐλευθέριον Σεβαστὸν ε[ἷ μὴν .....] ηλ...ε..ουτας καταλελ{ε}ιφθὲν ..στου

5 αὐτοῦ κ' εμα(υ)τὴν οἰκίαν συνπεπτωκυῖαν ἀξίαν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ὀγδοήκοντα· ἕτερον δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸ ἢ καταλελ.φεν. εὐορκοῦντι μέν [μο]ι εὖ ⟨ε)ἴη ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ ἐναντία

(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Μεσορ\ή/ ια

- 1 Αμη-?, Ανη-?, Ανι-?, Αμι-?, ἀντ[νί/(γραφον) Διο]νύσ[ιος? Τερτονπετοχην: addendum lexicis. The interpretation of the prefix τερτον- in such village names is still uncertain (Drew-Bear 289). Τερτονπετοχην is perhaps a rapidly written Τερτονπετεχων. Cf. P. Lille I 31.1; PSI Manfredi XV 1546.36. (Reff. thanks to R. Falivene.)
- 2 'Αγήματος: Cf. **2392**.2. n., **2562**.5 n.
- 5 l. συμπεπτωκυΐαν: Cf. V. Martin, Rech. de Papyrologie 2 (1962) 56, on ἐν συμπτώσει and similar expressions.

#### Translation

Copy(?). I, Dionysios, son of -na-, from (the village) Tertonpetochen of (the) Agema (toparchy), swear by Caesar Emperor, Son of God, Zeus Eleutherios Augustus, that verily ... the run-down house of mine worth eighty silver drachmas. (I have?) no other than the one left (to me?). May it be well with me if I swear truly; if not, the opposite. Year 28 of Caesar, Mesore 11.

#### 2592

P. 25286 26.5 x 20.5 cm. Phys

Margins: upper 7, lower 9, left 2.5, right 7.5. *Kollesis* 6.5 cm. from the left. Verso blank.

Dionysodoros, son of Dionysodoros, from the nome capital but for the time being residing in Phys, has built himself a house using persea wood to do so. It is in this regard that he swears an oath, the contents of which are for the most part lost. Considering what we know about wood in Egypt in general and the persea tree in particular, Dionysodoros probably either swore to reforest the tract of land where the persea trees grew or else to pay a fine for having illegally felled them.

Διονυσόδωρος Διονυσοδώρου τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως κατοικῶν δὲ ἐγ κώμη Φῦς ὅμνυμι Καίσαρα Αὐτοκράτορα Θεοῦ Υἰὸν Σεβαστὸν εἶ μὴν

- 5 ἃ κατακέχρημαι εἰς ἣν ἀικοδόμην οἰκίαν ἐν [κώμ]η Φῦς περσέινα ξύλα ἀριθμῷ [ ±8 ].[...].[..]νουπτα παρ' ᾿Απία [ ].ενου πρὸς τῆι κυπ[αρίσσφ ±7 ]....η()
- 10 εμηεδ[ ±15 ].... κεκοφθη [ναι εὐορκοῦντι] μέν μοι [ε] ὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦ[ντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία] Καίσαρ loc ..... τη
- 2–3 Cf. Braunert, Binnenwanderung 131ff., on metropolis residents who for various reasons reside in villages of the same nome.
- 5 l. ἀικοδόμουν.
- 6 Φῦς: Cf. 2433.49, 2438.40, 2440.26; J. Frösén, P. Hels. I 9.8 n. περσέινα: Cf. Plutarch, de Iside et Osir. 68; P. Oxy. 2969, introd.; LdÄ s.vv. Persea, Baum, Holz; K. Worp, P. van Minne, ZPE 78 (1989) 140; N. Baum, Arbres et arbustes de l'Egypte ancienne (= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 31), Louvain 1988. See B. Kramer, APF 41 (1995) 226–227, on the persia tree.

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For the interdictions restricting the uncontrolled felling of trees see G. Parássoglou, APF 24–25 (1976) 91–99; M. Parca in: Congr. 17, vol. III 1231; P. van Minnen, K. Worp, ZPE 78 (1989) 139–142; R. Jasnow, Enchoria 18 (1991) 46, 48 (in a Demotic wisdom text). See S. Daris, Aegyptus 69 (1989) 30–36, for an official listing of acacia trees which have been cut down.

On logging and timber in Greco-Roman Egypt: M. Müller, CPR X = Griech. Texte VII 59 notes.

On the sanctity and the cult of trees in antiquity see C. Boetticher, Der Baumkult der Hellenen und Römer, Berlin 1856; W. Mannhardt, Antike Wald- und Feldkulte, Strassburg 1877 (2. Aufl.), Berlin 1904–1905; L. Weniger, Altgriechischer Baumkultus (= Das Erbe der Alten, n.F. 2), Leipzig 1919; O. Kern, "Baumkultus", RE III,1 (1897) 155-167; A. Henrichs, BASP 16 (1979) 85–108; H. Kees, Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten, (2nd ed.) Berlin 1956, 83–92; M.L. Buhl, JNES 6 (1947) 80–97; H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, 82-87; V. Loret, Sphinx 6 (1903) 99-103; A.D. Nock, CR 38 (1924) 107ff.; J. Doresse, Des hiéroglyphes à la croix, Istanbul 1960, 26ff.; Hopfner, Plutarch 256ff.; J. Lindsay, Men and Gods on the Roman Nile, London 1968, 94, 180f., 269, 311, 457ff.; J. Frazer, The Fasti of Ovid III, London 1929, 351-358; id., The Golden Bough, London 1955, vol. II ch. 9,10,20; G. Maspero, Etudes de Mythologie II, Paris 1893, 224-225; B. Jordan, J. Perlin, "On the Protection of Sacred Groves" in: Essays pres. to Sterling Dow (= GRBM 10), Durham, N.C., 1984, 71-75; M. Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, London-New York 1958, 265ff., 327ff. (bibliography); S. Amigues, "Sur le persea d'Egypte," in: Hommages à F. Daumas, Montpelier 1986, 25-31; B. de Rachewiltz, Egitto magico religioso, Turin 1961, 147f., 201–202 (bibliography); G. Roeder, Volksglauben im Pharaonenreich, Stuttgart 1952, 135–136. In medieval Europe: J.-C. Schmitt, Le saint lévrier, Paris 1979, 38–39; M. Crampon, Le culte de l'arbre et de la forêt en Picarde, Amiens-Paris 1936. In modern Egypt: W.S. Blackman, "Sacred Trees in Modern Egypt," JEA 11 (1925) 56-57.

11 κεκοφθῆ[ναι: See Gignac, Morphology 308–309, for the various heteroclitic forms attested for this verb. This one is not among them.

#### Translation

I, Dionysodoros, son of Dionysodoros, from Herakleopolis but residing in the village of Phys, verily swear by Caesar Emperor, Son of God, Augustus, that the persea wood which I used for building a house in Phys, in the amount of ... in addition to cypress ... felled. May it be well with me (if I swear truly); if not, (the opposite). Year ... of Caesar, (month) 18.

### 2593

P. 25285 14.7 x 14.4 cm. Phebichis

Margins: upper 0.7, lower 5.5, right negligible. *Kollesis* 10.4 cm. from the right edge. Verso blank.

Judging from the length of the lacunae in lines 2 and 10 (ca. twenty-five letters from the left), at least half of this papyrus is missing. However, there is scant hope of ever recovering the missing portion, since it seems to have been destroyed by

embalming fluids. Nonetheless, the wording of this text is so intriguing – and obscure – that it deserves publication despite its fragmentary state.

	[	] Φεβίχεως τῶν στρεβλωτῶν πράκτωρ ἀρ-
	[γυρικῶν	] 'Αυτοκράτορα εἶ μὴν τοῦ μεμερισμένου
	[ ]μεν	οι πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦ⟨ν⟩τες
	[	] ἐπιστημένης κατὰ βαθμὸν τ{ο}έσσαρα ἃ καὶ
5	[	] τῶν ἀ[π]ὸ τῆς κώμης ἀργυρίου{ς} δρα{σ}χμὰς
	[	έ]ν ξέναις έβτομήκοντα τρίων ὧν ήμι-
	[συ	]ω καὶ μηδὲν ἀπητηκέναι πλ[[ι]]ὴν ἢ
	[	].ν ἀργυρίου δραχμ⟨ὰς⟩ {τι} διακόσιαι
	[	].ηκηκέναι ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ χρόνοις
10	[εὐορκοῦντι μέν μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφορ]κοῦντι δὲ τἀναντία.	
	[ (ἔτοτ	ος) Καίσαρος Χ]οιὰχ κ̄ε

1 Φεβίχεως τῶν στρεβλωτῶν: It seems only a remote possibility that the usual and already well-attested village Phebichis should here be called "Phebichis of the torturers." More plausible, considering the scribe's idiosyncratic orthography, is to assume either a grammatical or syntactical irregularity – or lapsus calami. στρεβλωτῶν: According to LSJ the word is attested only in the glossaries with its Latin equivalent eculeus "torture rack." The sole cognate word in the papyri is στρέβλωσις in P. Oxy. 3430.24–25 and P. Mert. I 45.4. See in general Hug, "Rota," RE IA,1,

1151–1152, and J. Henderson, Aristophanes. Lysistrata, Oxford 1987, 175.

'Αυτοκράτορα: The only oath where this word appears at the end is P. Tebt. II 382.21: ὀμνύο Καίσαραν Θεοῦ υἱόν 'A. – cf. C. Balconi, Aegyptus 56 (1976) 214. Presumably something like this once stood in the lacuna here.

Comparing the lacuna here with the one in l. 10, one arrives at the sum of *ca*. 25 letters missing from the left.

- 3 l. κατοικοῦ(ν)τας: Cf. G. Horsley, NDIEC 5, p.143, for parallels.
- 6 l. εβδομήκοντα.
- 7 ἀπητηκέναι: The pi is smeared almost to the point of illegiblility.
- 9 l. έν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου χρόνοις οτ έν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ νῦν χρόνοις.

# 2594 Receipt

P. 25258 13.1 x 15.7 cm. Chennis July 17, 8

Margins: upper 1.5, left 1.5, right negligible. Verso blank.

Ten men, probably hunters and residents of the village of Chennis, have evidently sold their share of half a house to Triadelphos, son of Hareotes, and acknowledge having received from him twenty silver drachmas in payment. Although the transaction itself is banal and offers little to commend it, the heading attracts immediate interest. This fragmentary document proclaims itself as the copy of a Greek transla-

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tion of an originally Egyptian (= Demotic) contract of agreement probably for judicial purposes (cf. U. Wilcken, UPZ I, p. 602, II, p. 129; Meyer, Papyri, pp. 78,82; F. Griffith, P. dem. Ryl. III, pp. 118ff.). Even without this heading, the blatant Egyptisms in the Greek wording would have betrayed it as such – cf. lines 3 and 4 nn.

ἀντίγραφον ὁμολογίας Αἰγυπτίοις γράμμασι μεθηρμηνευμένη(ς) Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν · ἔτους κβ Ἐπεὶφ γ̄ Καίσαρος Θεοῦ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν γραφομέν(ων)

είους κρ΄ Επείφ γ Καισαρός Θεού εκ Θεού και των γραφομέν(ων έ[ν 'Α]λεξανδρεία· λέγει "Ελληνος· Φαμείς Φασιῆυς καὶ

5 [Σε]μθεὺς Πτολεμαίου κα[ὶ].[.....].ος Στράτωνος καὶ Δημήτριος [κ]αὶ Κολλοῦθος Ἡρακλ[εί]δου καὶ Δημήτριος

[ καὶ ]τίων [....]σήμιος καὶ Διονύσιος Θεοδώρου καὶ traces [καὶ ]ισιώτου οἱ δέκα τῶν ἀπὸ

Χέννεως θηρατ[ ].....οι θηρατῶν πάντες ε..

10 [....] Τριάδελφος 'Αρ[ε]ώτου ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπεσχηκέν[αι] π[αρά σο]υ ἀργυρίου δραχ(μὰς) [ε]ἴκοσι τιμὴν ἡμίσους μέρους οἰκίας καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλοῦμεν ἀπὸ 'Επεὶφ ȳ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος

traces

1 ἀντίγραφον: Cf. B. Kübler, "<sup>9</sup>Ισον und ἀντίγραφον," Zeits. Savigny-Stiftung 53 (1932) 64–98; L. Lefort, "Τὸ ἶσον = exemplum, exemplar," Le Muséon 47 (1934) 57ff.; L. Wenger, Historisches Jb. 60 (1940) 374.81.

μεθηρμηνευμένη(ς): Cf. W. Peremans, "Les ἑρμηνεῖς" in: Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten, Mainz 1983, 11ff.; *id.*, "Le bilinguisme," Studia Hell. 27 (1983) 253–280.

2 κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν: Cf. P. Oxy. 2231.28 n.

3 ἔτους κβ Ἐπεὶφ ϙ̄ Καίσαρος: While Greek usage dictates ἔτους κβ Καίσαρος Επεὶφ ϙ̄, the word order here reveals that it was, in fact, translated word-for-word from the Egyptian. Cf. G. Hughes, Saite Demotic Land Leases (= SAOC 28), Chicago 1952, passim, e.g. "Year 15, Mesore, of Pharaoh Amasis," "Year 16, Epeiph, of Pharaoh Amasis;" K.-Th. Zauzich, Papyri von der Insel Elephantine, Berlin 1978, no. 13852.1: "Regierungsjahr 35 Monat Pharmuthi des Pharaohs Darius." However, the word order in no. 15518.15 betrays Greek influence: "Im Regierungsjahr 50 des Kaisar, im Monat Phamenoth, am 15. Tag."

Καίσαρος Θεοῦ ἐκ Θεοῦ: Cf. P. Oxy. 1453.ll; U. Wilcken, APF 6 (1920) 423: "eine der griechisch-ägyptischen Auffassung entsprechende (Formel);" C. Saulnier, "Les titulatures pharaoniques des empéreurs romains," RHD 62 (1984) 1–14 (non vidi); C. Balconi, Aegyptus 56 (1976) 213–214: "titolature di Augusto." For more or less contemporary Demotic documents cf. W. Spiegelberg, P. dem. Eleph. no. 13 (p. 26): Augustus = Gjsrs p3 ntr; F.L. Griffith, P. dem. Ryl. III 44.1–2: Tiberois Kaisaros Sebast (the god the son of the god);" ibid., 45.l–2: Tiberos Klautos (Kaisaros) Sebastos Germanikos, who hath obtained power, the god the son of the god." Cf. J.-Cl. Grenier, Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne (= Papyrologica Bruxellensia 22), Brussels 1989.

3–4 καὶ τῶν γραφομέν(ων) ἐ[ν 'A]λεξανδρείᾳ: It was a common practice in the last century B.C. to abbreviate the Ptolemaic royal titulatures in this manner. The scribes evidently

continued the practice on into the Roman administration. For related discussion cf. P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 5.3 n.,18.2 n., 20.8 n.

1. λέγουσι "Ελληνες: Thus begin Demotic contracts, e.g. Hughes, op. cit., no. 2.2: "Has said the prophet of Amon, Chonserau ...;" no. 4.1: "Has said the herdsman of Mont, Petemont ..." et passim; Pestman, Recueil, no. 3.2: "A déclaré le prêtre des enfants d'Apis ..."; no. 4.13: "A déclaré la femme T. ..." et passim. Other translations from Demotic texts such as UPZ II 175a.3 have τάδε λέγει.
Φασιῆνς: addendum onomasticis.

Κολλοῦθος: Cf. Vergote 20; W. Crum, "Collouthus the Martyr and His Name," Byzantinische Zeits. 30 (1922–30) 323–327.

Χέννεως: Cf. 2433.48, 2438.101; P. Hibeh 218.101.
 θηρατῶν: Cf. 2253, 2254, SPP XXII 68 for documents related to the hunt; P. Roussel,
 "Les κυνηγοί à l'époque hellénistique et romaine," REG 43 (1930) 361–371.

 Ι. Τριαδέλφφ: Cf. H. Heinen, ZPE 80 (1990) 272; J. Quaegebeur, "Greco-Egyptian Double Names" in: Life 265–272, on this name and its Egyptian equivalents.

11 Cf. W. Schubart, Einführung in die Papyruskunde, Berlin 1918, 447; Olsson 73.49–50 n.; D. Hobson, YCS 28 (1985) 211–229, on the division of house shares into minuscule portions.

12 Î. καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐγκαλοῦμεν κτλ.: Cf. Pestman, op. cit., nos. 3.5, 8.6, 9.6: "Je n'ai aucune contestation au monde (à formuler) contre toi ... à partir d'aujourd'hui et dorénavant." Here instead of writing ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον the translator-scribe inserted the date.

#### Translation

Copy of an agreement in Egyptian translated into Greek as well as possible. Year 22, Epeiph 3 of Caesar, God, Son of God – and the things written in Alexandria. (The) Greeks say: Phameis, son of Phasieus; Semtheus, son of Ptolemaios; -os, son of Straton; Demetrios and Kolluthos, sons of Herakleides; Demetrios, son of N.N.; -tion, son of -semis; Dionysios, son of Theodoros; N.N., son of N.N.; N.N., son of -isiotes, the ten from the (inhabitants) of Chennis, hunters (?) ... acknowledge to Triadelphos, son of Hareotes, that we have received (from you) twenty silver drachmas, the price of half a house, and we will present no further claims against you from Epeiph 3 of the 22nd year of Caesar ....

# 2595 Official Correspondence

P. 25289 14 x 15 cm. Herakleopolis 15/14

Margins: upper 3.7, left 0.8, lower 1.7 cm. The same script as on **2670**. Verso blank. Dorion, the royal secretary, writes to the district scribes, appending copies of letters from the prefect and *strategos*. Unfortunately, only the copy of the *strategos*'s letter is preserved here. The subject under discussion is the inspection of the finance records "from times past up to Augustus's third year" (line 4). It would be nice to know exactly what length of time was involved here – and how many of Augustus's Ptolemaic predecessors' records were up for inspection. Certainly, more than just the records of the first two years of Augustus' reign would have

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been reviewed. Other *imponderabilia*: what was the occasion for this inspection in the 16th year of Augustus's rule? Were Dorion and other officials addressed in this letter already in office in Augustus's third year – perhaps already in office even at the time of the Roman conquest? If so, were they now, thirteen years later, being summoned to account for themselves because of some irregularities in the books?

[Δωρίων βα(σιλικὸς) γρ(αμματεὺς) τοῖς] τοῦ νομοῦ τοπογραμματεωσι χαίρειν. τοῦ μεταδιδομ[ένου μοι  $\pm 10$ ]

[.]...[  $\pm$  6] τῶν προσ[ό]δων χρηματισμοῦ ῷ ὑποτέτακται καὶ ἡ γραφεῖσα ὑπ[ὸ .... Βαρ-]

βάρου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιστ[ο]λὴ ἀντίγραφα ὑποτέτακται καὶ αὐτοῖς  $\theta$ .[ $\pm 11$ ]

[....].του εἴδους ἀπητημεν ἔτι ἄνωθεν ἕω[ς] τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους Καίσαρος στοχα[σάμενοι]

5 [τοῦ μ]ηδὲν ἀγνοηθῆναι

(ἔτους) ις Καίσαρος ....[ ]

 $[\pm 6]$  Δωρίωνι χαίρειν. τῆς πεμφθίσης ἡμεῖν ὑπὸ Βαρβάρου ἐπιστ[0]λ[ῆς ἀντίγραφον]

ύποτέτακ[ται] ο [.].. κατὰ συνήθεαν ἄλλοτε ἀπητημένον ἐκ τοῦ ἴδους ε [ + 9]

νεικε ὅπως κατὰ τούτωι ἡ ἀπαίτησις γένηται (ἔτους) ις Καί[σαρος

- 1 l. τοπογραμματεῦσι 2-3 l. χρηματισμοῦ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτέτακται ῷ καὶ τῆς γραφείσης ὑπὸ .... Βαρβάρου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιστ[0]λῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτέτακται 4 l. ἀπητήμεθα ? 7 l. πεμφθείσης ἡμῖν 8 l. συνήθειαν, εἴδους.
- 1–2 In the lacuna one expects μεταδιδομ[ένου μοι ὑπὸ Ν.Ν. στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων. Cf. **2586**.2–3 n.
- 2-3 [Βαρ]βάρου: The few extant sources on the life and career of P. Rubrius Barbarus are in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* and ZPE 17 (1975) 268. So far the only attested dates for his prefecture were all for the year 13/12. This text from 15/14 is an exception. Cf. 2558 and Geraci, Genesi 174ff. on early Roman prefects in general.

4–5 For similar wording cf. P. Amh. 68.4; P. Oxy. 1188.5,11. The participle refers to the district secretaries who are obliged to reveal everything and to conceal nothing.

- 7 [Λύπος?]: Cf. **2602.**6 and **2669** II 1 where a certain Lupus, *strategos* of the Herakleopolites in Augustus's 17th year appears. His short name would nicely fit and fill in the lacuna here and in l. 1.

  Δωρίωνι: Cf. **2596** introd.; **2626.**32, 42.
- 8 κατὰ συνήθεαν: Cf. H. D. Schmitz, Τὸ ἔθος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri, Diss. Cologne 1970, 73ff.
  - l. εἴδους: In P. Köln IV 195 Einl., 195.20, 228.16, this word seems to designate market vendors. N. Lewis, BASP 18 (1981) 126–127, however, notes the broad scope of meaning this word had in Koine Greek, equivalent to the English "item." That is most likely its meaning here.

8-9 ἔ[τι δὲ καὶ νῦν προσέ]νεγκε aut sim.? Although the iota is unmistakable, this document is after all a copy and, considering its other orthographical and syntactical errors, a rather poor one at that. Hence, a gamma in the original might easily have been misread as iota.

### Translation

(Dorion, royal secretary, to the) district scribes of the nome, greetings. A copy of the order communicated (to me by N.N., *strategos* and chief) financial officer, to which is appended a copy of the letter written by ... Barbarus, prefect, .... Requested (from us?) is a financial report from times past up to Augustus's third year so that nothing be concealed. Year 16 of Caesar.

(N.N.) to Dorion, greetings. A copy of the letter sent to me by Barbarus is appended below. (Submit now?) that which according to custom has been requistioned on other occasions from the items so that the tax collection may proceed accordingly. Year 16 of Caesar.

## 2596 Seed Report

P. 25387 20 x 14.6 cm. Herakleopolis 13/12

Margins: upper 4.5, lower 8. Verso blank. This scrap of papyrus seems to have been used for various, miscellaneous, disparate jottings. The script is probably the same as that on 2649, 2659, and 2662.

The sole interest of this scrap is its mention of the same Dorion, royal scribe of the Herakleopolite nome, mentioned in **2595**.7, **2626**.32, 42.

[....][ traces ]
παρὰ Δωρίωνος βασιλικ[οῦ γραμ]μα(τέως)
τοῦ Ἡρακλευπου
σπόρος [τῶν] ἐπικεφαλαίων ὁ ἀναγεγρα[μμένος]
5 ὑπὸ τῶ[ν τοπ]ογραμματέων καὶ κομογρ[αμματέων]
ἐν τῶι ιη (ἔτει) Κέσαρος Πετοβά[στις
[ ]
written in reverse order: ]..που γραμματέως

3 Ι. Ἡρακλεοπολίτου 5 Ι. κωμογρ. 6 Ι. Καίσαρος

#### Translation

1.ων

From Dorion, royal secretary of the Herakleupou. A summary seed report drawn up by district and village scribes in the 18th year of Caesar. Petoba(stis?) ....

# **2597 Report ?**

P. 25275 9 x 12.7 cm.

Toy and Tochontoy

Margins: upper 2.3 cm., left 3.4 cm., right: variable. Verso blank. This scrappy bit of papyrus preserves the name of Horos, an otherwise unknown village scribe, whose administrative districts included two villages in the Herakleopolite nome: Toy and Tochontoy. For one scribe in charge of more than one village see **2282**; Oertel, Liturgie 157 a.

παρ' ''Ωρου κωμογραμματέως Τωὺ ' καὶ Τοχοντωύ. ἀπήτηται ἐκ τῆς κώμης θ[

2–3 Τωύ: Cf. **1846**.3; **2437**.20, etc. Τοχοντωύ: Cf. **2437**.4,22; **2440**.45.

### Translation

From Horos, village scribe of Toy and Tochontoy. Requisitioned from the village ...

# 2598 Receipts

P. 21906 26 x 12.7 cm. Kolasuchis 9–7

Margins: left 1.2-3.5, lower 4 cm. Verso blank.

Preserved are portions of two receipts: 1) Herakleios, son of Apollonios, certifies that he has received from Aspheus, son of Horos (cf. l. 9), rent payments for two years on a field, half of which Aspheus has cultivated. Herakleios has paid the taxes due. Claims on a loan which he gave to Aspheus and which is up for repayment in the following year are still valid. Further agreements regarding canal and dike work are lost for the most part. Peculiar is the lack of stipulations regarding the type of rental involved here. There is no mention of the sum, nor whether it involves money or goods. 2) Soterichos, son of Herakleios, (probably the landlord of the first document), certifies repayment of the aforementioned loan. In l. 21 one learns that it is a mere prepayment of the rental fees. Soterichos maintains his claims on the rental payments on the other half of the field which a certain Adrastos cultivates.

άντίγραφον άποχης. 'Ηράκλειος 'Απολλ[ω]νίου τῶν κατοί[κων 'Ασφεῖ ''Ωρου] χαίρειν. ἔχω παρά σου τὰ ἐκφόρια [τοῦ ἐπιβάλλον-] τός σοι μέρους ἡμίσους ὧν γεγεώ[ργηκάς μου (ἀρουρῶν).] περὶ κώμην Κολασοῦχιν ἐν τῶι ἑν[ὶ καὶ εἰκοστῷ] καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει, κα[ὶ τὰ καθήκοντα] ύπολέλειμ(μ) αι είς τὸ τούτων δημόσ[ιον ± 6 καὶ] οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ περὶ τῶν ἐκφορίω[ν τοῦ ἐπιβάλλον-] τός σοι μέρουζς, μένουσης δέ μοι πρός σ[ε ἐκτεῖ-] 10 σαί μοι δάνος είς τὸ τρίτον καὶ εἰκο[στὸν ἔτος ....] καὶ τὰ σκάμματα τῶν χώματων τοῦ κλ[ήρου κατὰ τὸ] ήμισον ἀκολ{λ}ούθως ἡ ἔχω σου αν[ ±12] τῶν γωμάτων, τὰ δὲ χώματα ε[ἰς τὸ τρίτον] καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἄξεις ἀπὸ Μεχεὶ [ρ τοῦ δευτέρου] 15 καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (ς) ἔτους, μένοντος δέ μοι τοῦ π[ρός σε λόγου] περὶ τοῦ δανήου καὶ τῶν ἐκφορίων. (ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρ[ος ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Σωτη(ρίχου). Σωτήριχος 'Ηρακλείου 'Ασφεί ''Ωρ[ου χαίρειν.] ἀπέχω παρά σου τὸ ἐπιβάλ(λ)ον σοὶ μ[έρος ἥμισυ?] τοῦ δανήου τῶν ἐκφορίων τοῦ [αὐτοῦ ἔτους] καὶ οὐθέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σου μ[έρους, μένον-] τος δέ μοι τοῦ πρὸς "Αδρα[σ]τον τοῦ [.. λόγου περὶ] τῶν ἐκφορίων [ 25 (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρο[ς

- 1 The gamma has been corrected from alpha.
- 5 Κολασοῦχιν: Cf. 1808.22, 2429.27; SPP X 213.4. ἑν[ὶ καὶ εἰκοστῷ]: Mayser I,2, p. 78: "Die Bildung der zusammengesetzten Ordinalia von 21–99 werden in der Regel so gebildet, dass der Einer (bei 1 stets Grundzahl, bei 2–9 Ordnungszahl) dem Zehner mit verbindendem καί vorausgeht."
- 6 *l*. δευτέρφ.
- 7 ὑπολέλειμ(μ)αι: Hermann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri (= MB 41), Munich 1958, 122: "Die Urkunden zeigen, dass in aller Regel die öffentlichen Lasten des Grundstücks, insbesondere die Grundsteuer, vom Verpächter bestritten werden sollten." Such is the case here.
- 8, 22 1. ἐγκαλῶ.
- 10 δάνος: The word is also attested in P. Cair. Masp. 126.11,44; P. Corn. 6.32; P. Dur. 23.3.
- 11 σκάμματα: "Lesser ditches taking off from (the main canal)," Westermann and Keyes, P. Col. Zen. 78, introd.
- 12 *l.* ἥμισυ: Cf. P. Cair. Zen. 59499.64,65,96. τὸ ἥμισον is "wohl Analogiebildung zu τρίτον, τέταρτον usw." According to Mayser I,1, p. 81; I,2, p. 78: "sonderbar". Aspheus is obliged to perform half of the work on the canals; Adrastos (l. 23), for sure, the other half.

14 ἄξεις: Cf. **2590** I 6–8: ἄξειν καὶ στεγνώσειν καὶ παρυλιεῖν τὰ ... δημόσια χώματα. ἀπὸ Μεχεὶ[ρ: January 26 – February 24. Both the bulk of the penthemeros and naubion receipts and the evidence from private documents indicate intensive work on the canals during the Nile's inundation between June and August (cf. Schnebel; Sijpesteijn, Penthemeros 10–11). Only a few references to canal work in Mecheir are known. The water level of the Nile was then at its lowest point, hence maintenance work on the dikes and canals was not of such emanent priority. However, cleaning and repairing was considerably easier (Sijpesteijn, *op. cit.* 11). It is probably for this reason that Herakleios stipulates that the work be executed during this period.

16, 21 *l*. δανείου

- 20 Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 114.4–5: ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος ὧν ἐγεώργησας κτλ., where τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος similarly serves as circumlocution for the rental fee.
- 23 There is no place for Adrastos's father's name in the lacuna. Hence the article must serve to introduce some other substantive.

#### Translation

Copy of the receipt. Herakleios, son of Apollonios, one of the *catoecs*, (to Aspheus, son of Horos), greetings. I have received from you the rent for the half portion of my land, (... aruras) near the village of Kolasuchis, which you have cultivated in the (twenty)-first and twenty-second years. I have deducted the (customary taxes) on them for the state treasury ... and I shall present no claims against you regarding the rental payments on your tract of land. (My claims) against you regarding the repayment of the loan to me in the twenty-third (year) remain valid ... the smaller canals of the tract's dikes ... You will trace the dams for the twenty-third year beginning in Mecheir of the twenty-(second) year. My claims against you regarding the loan and the rental payments remain valid. Year 22 of Caesar ... Soterichos's copy. Soterichos, son of Herakleios, to Aspheus, son of Horos, (greetings). I have received from you your (half) of the loan the rental payments for the

Soterichos's copy. Soterichos, son of Herakleios, to Aspheus, son of Horos, (greetings). I have received from you your (half) of the loan, the rental payments, for the (same year), and I have no further claims against you regarding your (share). I still have claims against Adrastos's account regarding the rental payments. Year 23 of Caesar ....

### 2599 Petition

P. 25180 30 x 12 cm. Herakleopolites after 27

Margins: upper 3, left 2, lower 4 cm. A strip of papyrus with vertical fibers has been pasted onto the right. Verso blank.

Because of irregularities in the survey and the ensuing evaluation of their property, three farmers from Kephalai address their appeal for justice to Theon, the royal secretary. They claim to possess seven arras apiece which have been only partially inundated. Furthermore, they suspect and accuse a certain Zenon of inaccurately surveying their land, hence placing them in a higher tax bracket than that in which they rightfully belong.

Θέωνι βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ παρὰ Πανετβέως [τοῦ] "Ωρου καὶ παρ[ὰ] 'Αρονδώτου τοῦ 'Αρονδώτου καὶ παρ[ὰ] Ψενοβάστιος τοῦ καὶ Βενιπις τῶν {α}

5 τριῶν ἀπὸ Κεφαλῶν · ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν περὶ Ταφθῖριν ἑπταρουρικῶν κλήρων τριῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν τελοῦμεν τὰ καθήκοντα δημόσια καὶ τὰ συντελέσματα πάντα ἀνεγκλήτως, ἐν δὲ τῶι

τε[τ]αρτωι (ἔτει) βεβρεγμένου ἐξ ἑκάστου [κ]λήρου ἡμίσους τετάρτου ὥστ' ε[ἶναι]

άναγεγραμμέναι αγα

[ἄρου(αι)] βα · Ζήνων ὁ τῶν τόπων τοπ[ο-]

[....] συνδυασάμενος Α[..]ωτει τῶι

[....].ογραμματεῖ καὶ ἐπιβαλόντες

[ἐπὶ τὰ]ς οἰκίας ἡμῶν ἐξεμετρήσαντο
 [....]οται ὑπὲρ τῶν σημαινομ\έ/(νων) ἀρουρῶν βd
 [....]..() ιβL [.. ἐ]ν ἀμελίαι καὶ [..]λλαεων
 [....]... ἐν ἀναρχίαι· διὸ προήγμεθα
 [τὴν ἐπί σ]ε ποιήσασθαι καταφυγήν· αξιοῦμε[ν]

20 [ἐἀν] φαίνηταί μοι .... ὡς κομιομεθα πλείω ἀπητήμεθα τῶν καθηκόν-τ[ων] δημοσίων ἵν' ὧμεν τετευχότες τῆς σῆς ἀντιλήμψεως

εὐτύχει

- 1 Θέωνι: Theon is an otherwise unknown royal secretary of the Herakleopolites.
- 2 Πανετβέως: J. Quaegebeur, Enchoria 4 (1974) 24.25, and OLP 4 (1973) 96.121, discusses this name, cf. 2674.120 n.
- 4 Βενιπις: Cf. P. Tebt. 401.41; P. Mich. 123 R. XV 8: Βενιπῆς
- 5 Κεφαλῶν: Cf. **2570**.5 n.
- 6 Ταφθίριν: Unattested.

ἐπταρουρικῶν: This category is probably a remnant of the Ptolemaic land administration when seven-arura-tracts of land were distributed to native soldiers (μάχιμοι); cf. P. Tebt. I, pp. 551 ff.; IV, p. 11; J. Shelton in: Collectanea Papyrologica I, p. 114.

8 δημόσια: This is the sole criterion for dating this text after the Roman conquest of Egypt. Taxes are now no longer called βασιλικά but rather δημόσια; cf. J. Modrzjeweski, Congr. 12, 325.43; Thunell, P. Berl. Leihg. I, p. 65.

 $11-12 \ 3 \ x \ 3/4 = 2 \ 1/4 \ aruras.$ 

- 17 The few remaining flecks of ink are not helpful in determining whether aruras or artabs are intended.
- 18 προήγμεθα: Cf. **2420**.4; Döllstadt 30.
- 18-19 For similar wording cf. 1823.26, 1836.20, 1858.13-14; 2600.16 n. For the blind adher-

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ence to conservative style in such petitions see F. Zucker, Gerichtsorganisation 100–101; H. Wolff, Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer (= MB 44), Munich 1962, 131–132.

#### Translation

To Theon, royal scribe, from Panetbeus, son of Horos; Harondotes, son of Harondotes; and from Psenobastis, alias Benipis, the three from Kephalai. Near the village of Taphthiris are three plots of land of seven aruras each belonging to us on which we have faultlessly paid the customary taxes and dues. In the fourth year only three-quarters of each plot was inundated, resulting in a total of  $2^{1}/_{4}$  aruras. Registered  $1^{1}/_{3}^{1}/_{4}$  ... Zenon, the *topo*- of the district, in collusion with A-, the ... scribe, made an incursion on our houses and surveyed ... with regard to the aforementioned  $2^{1}/_{4}$  aruras ... in desuetude and \*... in disorder. We therefore see ourselves compelled to come to you for refuge. We beseech (you), (if) it seem fitting to you ... since we are assessed more than the customary taxes, in order that we may enjoy your succour. Farewell.

### The Archive of Athenodoros

For convenience I have designated the following group of documents with this title because most of the documents center around the person with this name. Even in the few instances where his name does not appear, the documents in question are written either by the same scribes who wrote letters to or from Athenodoros, or they concern people associated with him in other documents that bear his name. Athenodoros apparently was sometimes addressed with the more familiar Athas (2621, 2647, 2654.13, cf. Vergote 3 and J. Winnicki in: Life 352.6 on this name). Cf. R. Merkelbach, ZPE 55 (1984) 54: "Δωσᾶς ... ist eine Kurzform zu Δωσίθεος"; Olsson, nos. 12-14, introd. p. 56 (Akus = Akusilaos); E. Husselman, P. Mich. V, p. 15; G. Horsley, NDIEC 4, nos. 5 and 101, comm.; S. Omar, P. Soterichos 3.3 n.; H.C. Youtie, ZPE 21 (1976) 193ff.; A. Henrichs, L. Koenen, ZPE 32 (1978) 125-126; id., APF 33 (1987) 58; A. Debrunner, Griechische Wortbildungslehre, Heidelberg 1917, § 23; E. Locker, "Die Bildung der griechischen Kurz- und Kosenamen", Glotta 22 (1934) 89ff.; L. Koenen and S. Omar in: P. Turner 21, introd., p. 103.3; H. Heinen, ZPE 79 (1989) 244; W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos (= SPP 6), Munich 1906, repr. Amsterdam 1965, 16; P. van Minnen, ZPE 93 (1992) 203.20; P. Oxy. 3094.1 n. (Eutychidas = Eutyches); "Names, Hypocoristic", in: David N. Freedman, ed., The Anchor Bible Dictionary IV, New York 1992, 1017ff. Some of the more significant documents which reveal Athenodoros's character and career are the following:

2602: Athenodoros here functions simultaneously as epistates and dioecete.

**2615–2618**: These documents are of prosopographical interest, telling us about Athenodoros's family. Some of the information is ambiguous and inconsistent, since common familial terms of address may not always be true indicators of biological relationships.

2615: Here we learn the names of Athenodoros's parents: Menelaos and Herakleia – provided that Menelaos and Herakleia are in fact addressing their biological son and not just employing the Greek word for son as a term of familiarity.

2616: A brother, Onnophris, as well as a niece (?), a sister, another brother, Tryphaina and dear Herakleides are mentioned in this letter.

2617, 2618: In these letters not Menelaos and Herakleia but rather a certain Tryphas addresses Athenodoros as son. However, this may be a mere term of endearment, with no deeper significance than the somewhat more common ἀδελφός or  $\pi\alpha\tau$ ήρ. Tryphas, reports to her son the delivery of a load of wood and pots and greets her daughters, Tryphas and Artemis.

Athenodoros is attested as *dioecete* in: **2603**.1, **2608**.11 (*ca*. 7 B.C.), **2619**.12, **2622**.2, **2624**.2, **2631**.1,22 (March 2, 9), **2632**.1 **2633**. 10, **2639**.13 (10/9). See on the *dioecete* in early Roman Egypt: D. Hagedorn, YCS 28 (1985) 188; P. Col. VIII 211.

Athenodoros is attested as *epistates* in: **2601** (*ca.* 14/13 B.C.), **2606** (7 B.C.), **2637** (3/2). Other *epistatai* are Petesuchos and Soteles in **2657** (17/16 B.C.) and Heras in **2613** (15/14).

2625: This is one of the more interesting letters, remarkable for its virulent attack on Athenodoros. The correspondent, an otherwise unknown Achilleus, minces no words telling Athenodoros what he thinks of him and his usual lassitude and lackadaisical manner.

In 2644 of June 4 B.C., Athenodoros is addressed as ἐμπολαῖος, "merchant."

In 2662 and 2664 of July 11, 4 B.C., Athenodoros is called *phrontistes* of Asklepiades's property in the Herakleopolite nome. Cf. 2605.2

Another one of the more frequently appearing and relatively important personages in this correspondence is a certain Seleukos. In **2600.**10-11 of August 4,13 he is designated as *dioecete*. In the other letters where he appears no title is attached to his name (**2612**, **2613**, **2614**, **2629**, **2634**.1).

Striking in the otherwise banal wording of these everyday letters written by small people concerning their petty concerns is the occasional neologism or solitary attempt at sesquipedalian phraseology. For example, 2613.7: παροπλιεῖς, 2622.15: διπλῆ [ἡ] χάρις γένηται, 2623.9: ἐπισχῖσαι τ' ἀνδρῖ[α], 2624.6: καταναβαλοῦμαι, 2625.19: καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βίωι; the unusual and unexpected word 2631.11: ἄτερ; 2644: ἐμπολαῖος; 2657.19: [εὐ]προσωπία; 2601.23–24: θεοχωλοσία

Literature on personal letters in antiquity includes: C.W. Keyes, "The Greek Letter of Introduction", AJP 56 (1935) 28–44; Chan-Hie Kim, Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation (= Society of Bibl. Studies, Diss. Series 4), Missoula 1974; *id.* and J. White in: J. White, ed., Studies in Ancient Letter Writing (= Semeia 22), Chico 1982; K. Treu, "Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus", Zetesis 1973, 629–636; G. Horsley, NDIEC 4, no. 16, *ibid.* p. 255; H. Cotton, Documentary Letters of Recommendation in Latin from the Roman Empire (Beitr. z. kl. Phil. 132), Cologne 1981; R. Buzon, Briefe der Ptolemäerzeit, Diss. Heidelberg 1984; S.K. Stowers, Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity, Philadelphia 1986; H. Zilliacus, Anredeformen, 32ff.; *id.*,

"Anredeformen", in: RAC. Suppl. 3, 465–497; J. White and K. Kensinger, "Categories of Greek Papyrus Letters", in: G. MacRae, ed., Society of Biblical Literature 1976 Seminar Papers, Missoula 1976, 79–91. On the difficulty of editing private letters Albert Dietrich, Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrussammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg 1955, pp. 2ff., has interesting and enlightening comments.

See on Augustan Egypt: N. Lewis, Congr. 12, 1–14; A. Piganiol, Congr 7, 192 ff.; G. Geraci, "La formazione della provincia romana d'Egitto", in: Egitto e società antica, Milan 1985, 163–180; *id.*, Genesi; F. Zucker, "Verfahrenswesen in der Einführung gewisser Einrichtrungen des Augustus in Ägypten", RIDA 3 sér. 8 (1967) 155–164; M. Amelotti, "L'Egitto augusteo tra novità e continuità", JJP 20 (1990) 19–24; A. Hanson, BASP 24 (1987) 100–102; T. Skeat, The Reign of Augustus in Egypt. Conversion Tables for the Egyptian and Julian Calendars (= MB 84), Munich 1993 ( $\nu$ . D. Hagedorn, ZPE 100 [1993] 211–222).

### 2600 Petition

P. 25236 27 x 13 cm. Herakleopolites August 4,13

Margins: upper 5, left 1–2, lower 1.2 cm.

Ladamas and the other beekeepers in the village of Choinothmis turn to an unnamed *epistates* (possibly Athenodoros who functioned as *epistates* about this time-cf. **2602**) seeking redress for wrongs suffered seven years previously in regard to their tax payments. Evidently doubt had been expressed whether they had rendered all the honey that was due to the state back then. The beekeepers have already given their accounts of that period to the *epistates* for his audit. They now request that he submit them to the *dioecete* Seleukos so as to prevent their being assessed a second time. Should any questions or doubts as to their honesty or good intentions arise, Ladamas and the other beekeepers express their willingness to offer further proof of their claims.

Λαδάμας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μελισσουργοὶ Χοινώ[θ]μεως τῶι [σ]εμνοτάτωι θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι ἀντιλήμπτορι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν καθάπερ εὐχόμεθα πεπόμφαμέν σοι τὸ λογάριον τῶν ζμήνων καὶ τοῦ μεμετρημένου μέλιτος ἐν τῶι ια (ἔτει) ἐὰν οὖν σοι φαίνεται, σεμνότατε

- 10 ἐπιστάτα, ἐπιδεῖξαι Σελεύκωι
  τῶι διοικητῆι καὶ κυριώι {ὅπως}
  συνπροσγενόμενος αὐτῶι ἵνα μὴ
  πλεῖον ἀπαιτήσωμεν τῶν ὄντων
  διὰ τοῦ λογαρίου καὶ τοῦ μεμετρημένου
- 15 μέλιτος · τὰ σύμβολα ἔχομεν · τούτου δὲ γεν[ο]μένου ἐσόμεθα ἀντιλημμένοι ὑπό σου · [παρὰ] πάντα δὲ χαριῆ σεατοῦ ἐπιμε[λούμ(ενος) ἵν' ὑ]γιαίνης ὅ ἐστιν ἡμεῖν εὐκτότ[ατον ·] ἔρρωσο · (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρος Μεσορὴ ιᾶ
- 20 vso: τῶι θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι ἀντιλήμπτ(ορι)
- 1 Λαδάμας: The name is new in the papyrus documents from Egypt, although it appears in Pape. Cf. **2590** I 1, II 2. μελισσουργοί: R. Sullivan, BASP 10 (1973) 8, and H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 129–132, discuss beekeepers in Egypt. Such wording as οἱ μελισσουργοὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αρσινοίτου νομοῦ (P. Cair. Zen. 59467) and that here indicate some sort of organization on the part of the beekeepers. On beekeeping in general, see E. Crane, The Archaeology of Beekeeping, Cornell Univ. Press 1984; E. Neufeld, Orientalia 49 (1980) 30–57, esp. 52.71; H. Chouliara-Raios, L'abeille et le miel en Egypte d'après les papyrus, Ioannina 1989; I. Beavis, Insects and other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity, Oxford 1988; Schuster, RE 15, 364–384. On bee-keeping see B. McGing, P. Dublin, p. 60.
- 2 Χοινώ[θ]μεως: Attested in P. Hib. I 68.3, 112.16,86; SPP X 8, etc.
- 3 θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι: The same idiom in 1197.1, 1201.l; cf. 2601.25; 2604.1-2; 2631.1; 2638.1; OGIS 195. H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter, P. Mich. VII 466.4 n., discuss the tendencies for apotheosis in private letters of this period; A. Hanson, ZPE 47 (1982) 234.4, the deification of officials. Cf. A.D. Nock, The Joy of Study. Papers ... F.C. Grant, New York 1951,142-143 = Essays on Religion and the Ancient World II, Zeph Stewart, ed., Oxford 1972, 732-733. Examples in classical literature include: Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* 108.33-34 (Scipio); Lucretius, *de natura* I 62f. (Epicurus); Vergil, *Ecl.* 1.6-7 (Augustus). ἀντιλήμπτορι: Cf. 1138.19, 1139.17, 1182, where the word is applied to various officials.
- 7 l. σμήνων: See Gignac, Phonology 122 and P. Oxy. 3410.10–11 n., on the spelling with zeta. Bee hives represented a considerable investment. Hence, they are included in a temple inventory (P. Cair. Zen. 59520) and in a list of pawned objects (P. Hib. II 197.7); cf. Sullivan, op. cit. 9–10. Evidently the taxes involved here were calculated according to the number of bee hives in the beekeepers' possession.
- 7–8 Sullivan, op. cit. 8–9, cites evidence for beekeepers paying taxes either in money or in kind in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The beekeepers here maintain they paid taxes in the eleventh year of Augustus's rule, and they are able to produce receipts to prove their claims.
- 9 Ι. φαίνηται.
- 10-11 Σελεύκωι τῶι διοικητῆι: Seleukos, who frequently appears in the correspondence of Athenodoros (**2612**, **2613**, **2614**, **2634**), is attested only here as *dioecete*.
- l2 *l*. συμπροσ-.
- 15 *l*. τὰ δὲ, τὰ γὰρ or οὖ τὰ σύμβολα ἔχομεν. For the most recent discussions of *symbola* in the papyri see J. Herrmann, Congr. 15, 222–230; P. Verdult, P. Erasm. II, pp. 99–106; **2391**.16–17 n.; and G. Casanova, Aegyptus 18 (1988) 17.

- ด้งชนิงทุนแยงงเ: Similar are 1138.22, 1105.41, 1187.35, 1193.13, 1856.19-20, 1863.17. Olsson, no. 8.20 n., discusses this circumlocution of the future with the perfect participle + ἔσομαι.
- [παρά] πάντα: See 2617.7 n. χαριῆ: Cf. 2417.6-8, 2422.8.
- *l*. ἡμῖν.
- εὐκτότ[ατον·]: Cf. **2622.**25, **2617.**8; P. Mich. VIII 466.3: [εὕχομ]αί σε ἔρρωσθαι, ὅ μοι εύκτόν έστιν.
- Above the mu is another letter (kappa?) written with darker ink and finer strokes, most likely a blot from another document.

### Translation

Ladamas and the other beekeepers from Choinothmis to the most respectful god and lord, protector, many greetings and constant health, as we pray for (it). We sent you the record regarding the bee hives and the honey measured in the 11th year. If it so please you, most respectful epistates, show them to Seleukos, the dioecete and lord, assisting him, so that - on the basis of the record and the honey measured - we be assessed no more than at present. (For) we have the receipts. When that has happened, then we will have been rescued by you. At any rate, you would do us a favor, by taking care of yourself so that you remain healthy - which is our sincerest wish. Farewell. Year 17 of Caesar, Mesore 11. Verso: To the god and lord protector.

### 2601 Petition

P. 16899: 12 x 12.5 cm. P. 25261: 19.5 x 11 cm. Herakleopolites after 13/12

Margins: upper 4.5, lower 8, left 2.5 cm. The upper fragment (P. 25261 = lines 1–21) is poorly preserved: torn and missing fibers at the top of the document have taken with them much of the context necessary for understanding who the parties involved were and to whom this complaint was addressed. At the bottom the same fragment is shredded and stained. P. 16899 (= lines 22ff.), by way of contrast, is in excellent condition. Even the upper edge is neatly cut off. The remarkable differences between the two sections of the same document, indicating that they have undergone quite different vicissitudes in the last 2000 years, suggest that the petition was cut in two and the two pieces put into different sections of the same coffin during the manufacture of the mummy case in antiquity. How much is missing between the upper and lower fragment cannot be determined any more. The verso is devoid of writing. Unfair business practices are the subject of the present complaint. Someone leased a parcel of grain-producing land in the firm belief that he was getting 15 aruras in the deal. Undertaking his own survey of the land, he discovered it measured only 9 aruras – but not before he had already paid taxes on 15 aruras! Understandably and righteously indignant, he requests immediate redress for the wrongs perpetrated.

±12 ο]ἰκονόμωι ᾿Ασκλη (ι ) πιάδου [.... στραγηγοῦ καὶ] ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων ]..[το] δ Ἡρακλείου τῶν ἐκ τοδ ].. Ἡρακλεοπολείτηι τῶι [ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν χαίρειν].[..] ἐμισθωσάμη\ν/ ].ρ..λωτος ±7 ] προσόδου περὶ κώμην Πεματε [...] ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ᾿Ασκληπιάδου ἐδαφῶν γης σειτοφόρου άρούρας ιε· άναμετρή-10 σας οὖν ταύτας εὖρον οὕσας ἐννέα

άρούρας άντὶ τῶν διὰ τῆς μισθώσεως ὀνομασθεισῶν ἀρουρῶν δεκαπέντε ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἠναγκάσθην τὰ τοῦ ιη (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἐκφόρια μετρῆσαι

τῶι αὐτῶι Κρατερίωνι χωρὶς ὧν ὁ [.....]ωρος ἤνεγκα τοῦ ἐκφορίου πυρ[ο] δ άρτάβας πεντεκαίδεκα έν τωι ιθ (ἔτει) Καίσαρος αντεδω traces τῆς

σανωσα traces Ηρωδω.. 20

] ἔλαβον ἀρούρας ἐ[ννέα

άξιῶ σ' ἐὰν φαίνηται δέσποτα.....ερ. ξαί μοι είς τὴν γεγονυῖάν μοι θεοχολωσίαν τῶν θ-ἀρουρῶν δ ἐὰν σὺ

θεὸς ὢν ἐπικρείνης ἵν' ὧ βεβοηθημένος.

- 'Ασκληπιάδου: Probably the same as in 1197.1, 1200.14.
- [στραγηγοῦ καὶ] ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων: Cf. 2586.2-3 n.

Πεματε: This village is otherwise unknown.

- Κρατερίωνι: Attested in neither Foraboschi, Onomasticon, nor NB, nor Pape. Cf. 2624.1 and Fr. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, Halle 1917.
- 16 *l.* ἤνεγκε.
- δέσποτά μου ?
- 23-24 θεοχωλοσίαν: Unusual in the context of this on the whole banal petition is the sudden appearance of this rather literary and otherwise seldom attested word. However, already W. Schubart and D. Schäfer in the introduction to BGU VIII, p. 5, remarked on the unusual number of neologisms that appear in the petitions of the late Ptolemaic era from the Herakleopolite nome edited by them in that volume.

θεὸς ὤν: See **2600**.3 Anm.

l. ἐπικρίνης.

### Translation

(l. 8) ... from the grain-producing plots of land, 15 aruras, belonging to Asklepiades. Having measured them I found them to be nine aruras instead of the fifteen aruras indicated in the rental contract, for which I have been subject to pay rental fees to the same Kraterion in the 18th year of Caesar. Apart from these, -doros delivered fifteen artabs of wheat in the 19th year of Caesar ... (l. 22) I beseech you, if it please you, master (?), to ... to me the wrath of god upon me for the 9 aruras – which if you are a god, may decide, in order that I may be succoured.

### 2602 Petition

P. 25235 29 x 13 cm. Herakleopolites *ca.* 14/13 B.C.

Margins: upper 4.5, left 2.5, lower 3.5 cm. The farmers in the village of Techtho write to Athenodoros, who here functions simultaneously as *epistates* and *dioecete*, to inform him that a certain Eros, a functionary of the *strategos*, has attempted to coerce them into canal work. Fortunately for them, one of Athenodoros's men was able to put a stop to it. Still the farmers are not satisfied with this measure and demand a written guaranty from Athenodoros that Eros will not bother them in the future.

The work on the canals which is the subject of heated dispute here is obviously not the same as the well-known penthemeros system which was introduced only much later (P. Sijpesteijn, Penthemeros 1–5). At the time this petition was written canal work was apparently performed by workers who were paid out of public funds requisitioned expressly for the maintenance of the water ways (cf. **2590** and BASP 16 [1979] 25ff.).

οί ἀπὸ Τεχθὼ γεωργοὶ 'Αθηνοδώρω τῷ ἐπιστάτη καὶ διο(ι)κητῆ πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν

- 5 γείνωσκε "Ερωτον τὸν παρὰ Λ(ο) ὑπου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγβάλλειν ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα· καὶ τὰ νῦν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς γεωργούς σου καὶ ἀνήνκασε
- 10 αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο ἐκεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι · Πτολλᾶς ὁ σὸς ἦλθεν ἐκ Θμοναχὴ κ[αὶ] ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀπά[γειν] ὑμᾶς
  ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα ὡς .[.....]

15 αὐτῷ ἀποστείλης · τὰ δ[ὲ νῦν ἀξι-]
οῦμέν σε, ἐπ(ε)ὶ ὁ ἀγρὸς ἡ[μῶν ...]
παρέσταται, ἀποστεῖ[λαι ἢ]
σφραγειταν Πτολλᾶτι τῶ[ι σῶι]
ἢ \γ/ραπτὸν ἵνα κωλύση τὸν Ἔρωτα

20 ἀπάγ(ε)ιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα. ἔρρω(σο)

VSO:

δι]ο[ι]κητ\ῆ/

- 5 Ι. γίγνωσκε "Ερωτα.
- 6 Λ(ο) ύπου: The strategos Lupus is otherwise known only from 2669 col. II 1 (14–13 B.C.).
- 9 l. ἡνάγκασε.
- 11 Πτολλάς: Cf. 2659.11. Cf. O. Masson, ZPE 98 (1993) 157f., on the etymology and popular variants.
- 12 Θμοναχή: Attested in P. Hib. II 218.51,66,84; P. Petaus 28.6,20, etc.
- 13 *l.* ἡμᾶς.
- 16–17 What difference does it make whether the field is near or far? Is Eros going from field to field to conscript workers?
- 18 l. σφραγίδα?: On accusatives in -αν cf. Gignac, Morphology 45; Mayser I,1, pp. 171–172; Blass-Debrunner § 46.1; Olsson 28.16 n.
- 19 \γ/ραπτόν: Cf. Olsson 19.5: διὰ γραπτοῦ. τὸν "Ερωτα: Cf. 2649.7 n.

#### Translation

The farmers from Techtho to Athenodoros, *epistates* and *dioecete*, many greetings and continual health. You should know that Eros, the subordinate of Lupus, the *strategos*, has sent men to the dikes. Even now he is going to your farmers and forcing them to work two days there. Ptollas, your (subordinate), came from Thmoinache and prevented him from sending us to the dikes .... Now we beseech you, since our field lies nearby, to send either a guaranty or a written message to your Ptollas, so that he can prevent Eros from sending us to the dikes. Farewell. Vso: To the *dioecete*.

### 2603 Petition

P. 25283 28 x 9 cm. Herakleopolites

Possibly broken off at the top and bottom, definitely at the left. Right margin negligible. Verso blank.

Lyktos, evidently a farmer in Athenodoros's employ, writes to his master in his capacity as dioecete to inform him that although most of the other farmers have

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long since fled the village he has decided to remain. The rest of the fragmentary letter concerns financial matters. The conclusion of the letter was written in the evidently once capacious upper margin.

18 ]..α[ ].νεμε[ ]πρός σε οιδ[ 20 ].ειοσσ.[ π]επο(ί)ηκαν α[ [......] περὶ τοῦ ...νυν ..[ [.... τ]ῶν ἐδαφῶν αλλα.αλεισ[ 25 [.....] οἴδας δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον [....].ασ [....]εχευαι μετὰ βίας καὶ ἐπίθεμα (ἀρτ.) ρ [.....] αειωι οὖν προνοήσει μου ὄντι [ἐκ]τὸς τῆς [οἰκ]ίας ἔτι ἀπάνωθεν [..]. τὸν (ἔ)φοδον ἐπεγνώσ(ε)ιαν ὅτι ὰ πο(ι)εῖ 30 [ κακά.

['Αθ]ηνοδώρωι διοικητῆι [π]αρὰ Λύκτου τοῦ 'Απυήιος τῶν [σ]ῶν γεωργῶν · ἔγω παρέμεινα [έ]ν τῆ κώμη μὴ βουλόμενος φυγείν

[...]..ων δημοσίων γεωργῶν ὅπως [μ]η κ[α]ι οι λοιποι ανάστατοι γένων(ται) [..]. χωρίς δὲ ὧν προσδιαγεγράφηκα ἀρ\γ/(υρίου)(δραχμὰς) π

[.]. Ἡρακλείω καὶ σήμερον διαγεγρά-

[φηκ]α (δραχμάς) ρ, λαβὼ[ν] ἀ(ρ)ραβῶνα κροτῶν(ος) (δραχμάς) ζ/

10 [..]....ως (ἀρτ.) μ ἄλλων δύο σὺν τ( ) [..]τι (ἀρτ.) αLς, οσ. πωλεῖς γὰρ τοῦ δὲ [μα]χαι[ρο]φόρου Έξερδιτος άγοράσας ]πε καὶ παρὰ

[τῶν ἐ]δαφῶν καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους 15 [..]νεγμου νε.... άλέκτορες δ [...... τοῦ μα]χαιροφόρου αἰτοῦν(τος)

6 γενων 7 / 9 bis (\_ 10,11,26 = 16 αιτουν

loc μου θλίβομαι

[..]εμη.[

[μετ]ὰ τῶν?

ἀνάστατοι: Heretofore unattested in the documentary papyri.

The drachma-symbols here are too indistinct to draw.

ά(ρ)ραβῶνα: Cf. J.C. Darwell, Enchoria 17 (1990) 83-87; A.J. Kerr, JTS 39 (1988) 92-97: "first installment". κροτῶν(ος): Cf. Sandy 35-54.

Έξερδιτος: If this is properly read and, in fact, a name, then it is new.

Ι. ἐπγνώσειαν.

#### Translation

To Athenodoros, dioecete, from Lyktos, son of Apyis, (one) of your farmers. I am staying in the village since I am unwilling to flee (with the?) state farmers, lest the others not become restless (and depart) ... apart from which I have paid in addition 80 silver drachmas ... to Herakleios, and today I paid 100 drachmas, taking 7 drachmas as guarantee money for the castor ...

### 2604 Letter

P. 25246 20.7 x 17.5 cm. Herakleopolites Sept.- Oct. 7

Margins: upper  $\pm 1$ , left 3-3.5 cm. Kollesis 3 cm. from the left; written on it is the number ξδ (64) opposite l. 14. Verso blank.

Stilbon (or Strabon?) writes to Athenodoros complaining of assault and battery at the hands of Chrysippos's slave and Skaliphos. Although the motives for the fracas are not at all clear, it seems Skaliphos was angry because he was waiting for a long overdue letter from Athenodoros and vented his rage on the innocent (?) Stilbon. Stilbon chides Athenodoros for not writing. He also requests a ship be sent to Skaliphos so that Stilbon and Athenodoros's sister can set sail. The rest of the letter concerns shipment of some goods.

- ἔρροσσο (ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος Φαῶφι σεβαστῆ
- Στίλβων 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι χαίρειν καὶ διευτυχείν · ήδη έμοῦ έξεληλυθότος καὶ γινομένου έπ[ὶ] τῶι κατὰ τὸν Θαυβαρίου πύργον διέ-
- ξαντες δοῦλος Χρυσίππου καὶ Σκαλίφου είσηνεγκά(ν) με είς πόλιν μετὰ πληγῶν καὶ ὑβρέων · ἐάν σοι φαίνηται τῶι Σκ[α]λίφωι γράψαι περὶ τοῦ πλοίου καὶ ἐμοῦ ἵνα με σὺν τῶι πλοίωι ἀπολύση
- μέμφεται γάρ σε ὁ Σκάλιφος λέγων ὅτι

Λύκτου: Cf. Pape; P. Berol. 25416 vso (unpublished Alexandrian synchoresis); otherwise unattested in the papyri. 'Απυήιος: addendum onomasticis.

<sup>[</sup>σ]ῶν γεωργῶν: Cf. **2602**.9.

οὐδὲ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐπιστολίου τέτευχα παρά σου · διὸ ἀξιῶ σε γράψαι τῶι
Σκαλίφωι ἵνα ἀπολύση ταχύτερον
διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀδελφήν σου βούλεσθαι ἐν
15 τῶι πλοώι ἀναπλεῦσαι · περὶ δὲ οὖ ἔχῃ ὅδε πάκτονος πᾶσι τοῖς κυβερνήταις τῶν πλοίων εἶπα ἀνενέγκαι σοι
αὐτὸν καὶ οὖ πεπρήκασιν αὐτὸν ἀ[ν]ενέγκαι · τοῦτο {ν} δ᾽ ἔστω τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιστόλιον ·

- 1 Στίλβων οτ Στράβων?
- 1-2 θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι: Cf. **2600**.3 n.
- 4 Θαυβαρίου: *Iota* was corrected from *alpha*. This relatively rare name is attested only in Alexandria and Theadelphia. (Cf. W. Swinnen, CdE 42 [1967] 162–165; E. Bernand, Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum III: La "méris" de Polémôn, Cairo 1981, p. 119, on the etymology.) The most famous person to bear this name was the sister of a Cypriote governor and eponymous priestess of Cleopatra III for the year 107-106 B.C. Cf. Fraser I, 223; J. Ijsewijn, De sacerdotibus sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis, Brussels 1961, repr. Milan, p. 59, no. 181; W. Clarysse, G. van der Veken, The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt, Leiden 1983, p. 137. πύργον: cf. 2395.1 n. and LSJ s.v. "women's quarters".
- 5 Various emendations are possible: δοῦλος, -οι Χρυσίππου, -ος καὶ Σκαλίφου, -ος, resulting in various combinations of slave(s), either named or anonymous, and their accomplice(s).
- 6 πόλιν: Herakleopolis.
- 8 Σκ[α]λίφωι: Cf. Pape; NB: Σκάλαφος.
- 10 ὁ Σκάλιφος: Cf. **2649**.7 n.
- 16 l. πάκτων.
- 19 τοῦτο{ν} δ' ἔστω: This serves as guarantee that nothing could be added to Stilbon's letter. At the bottom there was so little room left, that Stilbon was forced to append the date in the upper margin.
- 20 *l.* ἔρρωσο.
  σεβαστῆ: The earliest attestation heretofore known for a ἡμέρα Σεβαστή was P. Yale
  60. This papyrus is a year older than that one. P. Sijpesteijn, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVI, p. 92.12, cites bibliography. P. Col. VIII, p. 88, presents the most recent list of attestations.

### Translation

Stilbon (?) to Athenodoros, the god and lord, greetings and prosperity. Recently, as I was out and about, while I was near Thaubarion's tower the slave Chrysippos and Skaliphos attacked me and coerced me with beatings and blows into the city. If it please you, write to Skaliphos about the ship and about me, so that he release me with the ship. Skaliphos chides you and says, "I have received no letter from you". I therefore beseech you, write to Skaliphos so that he may release me sooner, because your sister wants to come up on the ship. Regarding that which the ship has (= the cargo, freight), I have told all the ships' captains that they should bring it to you – also from that which they have sold. This is this letter. Farewell. Year 24 of Caesar, on the holy day of Phaophi.

### 2605 Letter

P. 25398 20 x 15 cm. Herakleopolites 7 – 5/4

Margins: upper 2, left 3, right 3.5–4.5, lower 5 cm. Written on the vertical fibers. The horizontal fibers are devoid of writing.

Athenodoros in his capacity as overseer of Asklepiades's affairs in the Herakleopolite nome writes to Gaius Tyrannius, prefect of Egypt. It is singularly difficult to elicit any information from the scrappy remnants of the letter's original contents. Written in the same hand as 2614, 2634, 2636, 2641, 2642, 2646, 2652, 2653, 2666 and 2667.

[Γ]αίωι Τυρρανίω[ι] παρ' 'Αθηνοδώρου φροντιστοῦ [τῶν] ['Ασ]κληπιάδ[ου τ]ῶν ἐν τῶι 'Ηρακλεοπολ[ί]τηι. ἐάν σοι

- 5 φαίνηται διατάξεις γραφῆναι 'Αθηνίωνι Καίσαρος φορολόγωι προέσθαι τὰ κατὰ συνήθειαν διδόμενα Φιλ[ ..].ρῳ παβιστον [..]ης ἐγλογιστοῦ ὰς καὶ ὰ ασσιν()
- 10 ['Ηρα]κλείδου λόγον ὅπως . [.....]
  [....]οσυνις ἀγοραστεις[.....]
  διε[υ]τύ[χ]ει
  [Δημ]ητρίου φροντιστοῦ traces
  traces of 4 lines
- 1 [Γ]αίωι Τυρρανίω[ι]: Prefect 7–5/4 B.C. Cf. G. Bastianini, ZPE 17 (1975) 268, 38 (1980) 76; CPR XV, Gr. Texte XI, no. 15.1.
- 2-3 φροντιστοῦ ['Ασ]κληπιάδ[ου: Cf. **2662**.2 and **2664**.3-4.
- <sup>6</sup> <sup>A</sup>θηνίωνι: Cf. **2662**.4.
  Καίσαρος: Cf. P.R.C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris, Cambridge 1972; G. Horsley, NDIEC 3, no. 1; **2662**.4 n.; P. Sijpesteijn, K. Worp, P. Pheretnuis 75.1 n.

### l. ἐκλογιστοῦ.

#### Translation

To Gaius Tyrannius from Athenodoros, manager of Asklepiades's affairs in the Herakleopolites. If it so please you, order that it be written to the tax official, Athenion of Caesar's (household), to release the things which according to custom were given to Phil-...

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### 2606 Letter

P. 25247 26.5 x 11.5 cm. Herakleopolites July 23, 7

Margins: upper 3.8, left 1–2, right  $\pm$  1, lower 10.3 cm. Verso blank.

On July 23, Sotas writes to Athenodoros, in his capacity as *epistates*, about several matters on his mind. Although he was employed on a ship already in the month of Phamenoth (February 25–March 26), Sotas has calculated his wages only from Pharmuthi (March 27–April 25). So far he has only received wages for Pharmuthi and Pachon (April 26–May 25), although it is already the end of July. The wages from the last two months are still due him. He requests Athenodoros pay him the outstanding wages immediately, otherwise he will be unable to pay his employees. Sotas furthermore asks Athenodoros to return his ship to him. Most intriguing in this letter, mentioned only *en passant* without any further elaboration on the whys and wherefores, is Sotas's comment that he is being held prisoner in a temple.

This papyrus was reproduced and briefly described in the booklet: Museum. Ägyptisches Museum Berlin. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag 1981, 1984, pp. 104,105.

Σώτας 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἐπιστάτη χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰμ{ε}ὶ ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ· ἀπὸ δὲ Φαρμοῦθι λο-

- γίζομαι τὸ ὀψώνιον· ἀπέχω δὲ
  Φαρμοῦθι καὶ τοῦ Παχών, \τὸ ὀψώνιον/ τοῦ δὲ
  Παῦνι καὶ Ἐπείφ· καλῶς ποιήσεις
  διὰ τὴν ἔχουσάν μ\ε/ [η] ἔνστασιν καὶ
  διὰ τὸ νεμεσῆν, ὅτι ἐνκέκλεισμαι
- 10 εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, 'διατάξεις τῆς διμήνου/· χορηγῶ ἀνθρωπω μισθοὺς ἕως ὰ τοῦ Μεσορή· ἀξιῶ σε παρακα\(λῶν)/ παρ\α/- δοῦναι τὸ πλοῖ⟨ο⟩ν ὃ ἐὰν βοῦλη· κοιριος \γὰρ/ εἶ· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἵν' ὑγαίνης· ἔρρωσο·

15

(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος ['Ε]πεὶφ κ̄θ

- 1 Σώτας: Cf. 2607.
- 4-7 The month names are sometimes preceded by an article; cf. 2610.5.
- 6-7 l. \τὸ ὀψώνιον/ τοῦ δὲ Παῦνι καὶ Ἐπείφ ⟨οὐκ ἔχω⟩? Sotas pays the men their wages up to Mesore l the day after tomorrow. He asks Athenodoros to give him the money for salaries for two months (l. 10).
- l. νεμεσᾶν: A poetic word, rare in prose, not to mention the documentary papyri; cf. LSJ.

References to emprisonment in temples in Egypt are few and their interpretation difficult. K. Sethe, "Sarapis ...", Abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. n. F. 14.5, Berlin 1913, 91f., discusses instances in pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt. He was able to cite only one instance from Roman Egypt (P. Oxy. 259 = Mitteis, Chrest. II 101 = M. Biscottini, Aegyptus 46 [1966] 186–189). Cf. D. Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt through the New Kingdom," in: J.M. Sasson, ed., The Treatment of Criminals in the Ancient Near East, Leiden 1977, 2-64; Wilcken, UPZ I, p. 15, made a strict distinction between detention in temples and prisons constructed within temple enclosures, the latter being civil jails having nothing to do with the temples themselves. On Egyptian prisons in the Byzantine period see J. Gascou, Travaux et Memoires 9 (1985) 24.

Why Sotas is being detained in – of all places – a temple is a matter he enigmatically passes over in silence. That he was a κάτοχος seems out of the question. (On the *katochoi* see Kessler 141–142; R. Scholl, "Ἰερόδουλος im gr.-römischen Ägypten", Historia 34 [1985] 466–492; W. Clarysse, Enchoria 14 [1986] 43–49; G. Kortekaas, ZPE 85 [1991] 78.20: bibliography.) His involvement with ships and shipping is quite incongruous with anything religious.

On temples as prisons and places of detainment see J. Whitehorne, ANRW II 18,5, 3067; U. Wilcken, UPZ I, pp. 61, 131, 359, 363, 653; A. Bowman, P. Oxy. 3249.12 n.; Otto I, 285.3; Woess, Asylwesen 126; J. Ray, The Archiv of Hor, London 1976, 162. On prisons in general: R. Taubenschlag, Op. min. II 713ff.; P. Harr. 65.8; E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 12.17 n.; D. Hagedorn, J. Shelton, ZPE 18 (1975) 225ff. Prison terms in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt vary from five months (P. Lond. VII 2045.2–3; P. Tebt. III 777.8–10), to ten months (Mitteis, Chrest. II 5), to one year (PSI IV 347.8–10), to three years (P. Coll. Youtie 12).

λ. διατάξας οτ διατάξειν τὰ τῆς διμήνου ὀψώνια: Cf. PSI IV 421.2-3.
 λ. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μισθούς: Sotas's men want their salary by Mesore 1 (July 25). Since the letter was written on Epeiph 29 (July 23), the matter is urgent.

12-13 *l*. κύριος.

#### Translation

Sotas to Athenodoros, *epistates*, greetings and continual health. You should know that I have been on board the ship since Pharmenoth. However, I am calculating my salary only since Pharmuthi. I have received (my salary) for Pharmuthi and Pachon, (not), however, for Payni and Epeiph. Please be so kind as to pay me (the outstanding sum) for the two months, because of the hindrances encumbering me and because of my anger at being shut up in the temple. For I am paying the hired men up to Mesore 1. I beseech you and beg you to return to me the ship – whichever one you decide, for you are the owner. Otherwise, take care of yourself and stay healthy. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar, Epeiph 29.

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### 2607 Letter

P. 25165 30 x 14 cm. Herakleopolites April 27, 15

Margins: upper 6.5, left 1.5, lower 1.5, right negligible. Sotas, evidently a kind of agent for Athenodoros, writes how he is involved in getting timber shipped. Given Sotas's particularly obscure choice of words (neologisms?) and idiosyncratic orthography, much remains to be elucidated in this letter.

Σώτας 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν ὡς βοῦλομαι· ἀποσπασθ(ε)ὶς ἀπό σου ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ποιμένων καὶ μ(ε)ίνας ἐκ(ε)ῖ ἡμέρας Ἐξ

- 5 σὺν τῆ τύχη σου πάντα τὰ ἐκ⟨ε⟩ῖ ἐνκέκληκα · εν δὲ μόνον τεθάμνικα · ὁ δὲ traces .αι μου οὐ τεθεώ[ρ]η-κεν · ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς κακοπαθῷ []η...ν ἵνα μηδὲ ἐν τόπωι μνιθι
- 10 μα.[.]. ἐγὰ ᾿Ασκλᾶν ὅτι φιλεξυλοσθεται ὁ δὲ πανητραλλισε.[..]ακι οὐἡὲ τὴν ἄμαξαν ἀπέσταλκεν λέγων πρῶτον τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνοικίωι αιρῷ·
  γίνωσκε οὖν τὴν ἐ⟨ν⟩ Φνέβι περσέαν
- 15 την μεγάλην κ(ε.) ιται ἐπὶ πλατύμματος · ἔτασσα πλάτος πηχῶ(ν) ζ, καὶ μῆ(κος) πηχῶ(ν) ιδ · καὶ τὰ ἐν τῆ καμάρα ἐν αιρῷ κ(ε) ιται · οὐδεὶς ἤρην · οὐ γὰρ ἔχ(ε) ις ἐν τῷ νομῷ τοιαύ[τ] ην ἀξίαν ·
- 20 δρα\χ/(μῶν) χ · ἐὰν μὴ τὴν [μ] εγίστην καταντήσης καὶ ὅχλικε[.].ς ἐκ⟨ε⟩ι καταντήσωμεν · καὶ προσδέχονται ἄλλοι · καὶ οἱ τέκτονες πεπληρώκασι τοὺς μισθούς · διὸ γράφω σοι
- 25 ίν' είδης μη στραγεύση.

ἔρρωσο · (ἔτους) ιε Παχλώ/(ν) β

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι

- 1 Σώτας: Is this perhaps a sobriquet for Soterichos who also corresponds with Athenodoros? Cf. p. 80.
- 5-6 *l.* ἐγκέκληκα.

6 τεθάμνικα: l. τέτμηκα ?

- 0 'Ασκλᾶν: Sobriquet for Asklepiades in 1205.2 = Olsson 3.2-see the note there; Horsley, NDIEC 4, no. 101.
- 13, 18 l. αἴθρω? P.J. Sijpesteijn, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVI 18.8 n., cautions against confusing this word with the Latin atrium.
- 14 *l.* γίγνωσκε, Φνέβι: See **2583**.l n.
- 15 πλατύμματος: The few references to this word in Greek do not help ascertain its meaning here. Maybe it is a platform-like object for transporting timber.
- 16 *l.* ἔταξα.
- 15, 18 *l*. κεῖσθαι.
- 21 *l.* ἄχληκε?
- 25 *l.* στραγεῦσαι: Not to be confused with στρατεῦσαι M.-Th. Lenger, CdE 23 (1948) 112–115; T. Reekmans, Aegyptus 32 (1952) 286–292.

#### Translation

Sotas to (his) brother Athenodoros, greetings and continual health, since I so wish it. Having been separated from you I went to Poimenon and stayed there six days. By your good fortune I was able to claim all (my debts?) there. I only cut one (tree?) ... he did not observe it. But I am in trouble ... (11f.) neither did he send the wagon, selecting first of all the things in the house's courtyard. Know, therefore, that the large persea tree in Phnebieus is lying on the "plate". I have calculated the breadth at 7 cubits and the length at 14 cubits. The things are lying in the hall in the courtyard. No one has taken anything. For you do not have such a one in the nome worth 600 drachmas .... The others have received, and the builders have paid the wages. I, therefore, write you so you know not to delay. Farewell. Year 15, Pachon 2. Verso: To Athenodoros.

### 2608 Letter

P. 25253 21.6 x 13.5 cm. Herakleopolites *ca.* 7

Margins: upper 3.2, left 3, lower 8 cm. The same writer was responsible for **2609**, **2610**, **2611** and others, as can be seen by his characteristic script and idiosyncratic confusion of ει and ι.

Herakleides writes Athenodoros about problems he is having with recalcitrant beer brewers in Tilothis. The brewers have not yet milled the barley for the beer, and it does not seem they are about to do so, unless Athenodoros is willing to fork over more money (if one may extrapolate this interpretation from the garbled context of lines 3–5). Herakleides warns Athenodoros to direct his immediate attention to the matter; otherwise, the whole operation will be for naught.

'Ηρακλείδης 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶ[ι πλεῖστα] χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν ὡς εὕ[χομαι·]

έπορεύθην εἰς Τ{ε}ιλῶθ{ε}ιν· οἱ ζυτοποιοὶ οὐκ ἤλησαν τ{ε}ὴν κρ{ε}ιθὴν ἐὰν μὴ ἔκδυσκ...τστε αὐτοὺς

- 5 τοῦ στατῆρος εἰς τὸν Παῦν {ε}ι· διὸ ἐὰν φαίνηταί σοι σήμηνον · {ε}ἴσθι δὲ πεπονεκὼς τὴν κρ{ε}ιθὴν θυμικῶς · ἐὰν γὰρ λάθῃς, τὸ ὅλον ἀπορεῖται · διὸ γράφω σοι ἵν ' εἰδῆς · σήμηνον οὖν περὶ ὧν θέλει(ς) καὶ σεα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν ' ὑγ{ε}ιαίνης · ἔρρωσο.
- 10 (ἔτους) κ. Καίσαρος Φαμενὼ(θ) τη

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι [τ]ῶι διοικητ\ῆ/

8 θελεί 10 -μενή

- 3  $T{ε}\iota\lambda \hat{\omega}\theta{ε}\iota v$ : Cf. H. Hauben, ZPE 8 (1971) 271.60, and Falivene 204 on the location of this village.
- 3–4 ἥλησαν: Forbes III 63ff., describes Egyptian beer production. Although the reading here is anything but certain, the fact that milled barley played a role in beer production lends it a certain credibility.
- 4 ἔκδυσκ: non liquet.
- 5 στατήρος: Regling, "Stater", RE III A,2, 2171: "Ein bestimmtes Gewicht hat der S. ... nicht, es sind so viele S. denkbar, als es Drachmen gibt, und auch über das Metall ist begrifflich nichts präjudiziert;" 2174: "Das im 3.–l. Jhdt. allein häufige Grossstück von 8 ptol. Drachmen, das sog. μνα(ι)εῖον = l (ptolem.) Mine = 100 Drachmen Silbers". Cf. E. Christiansen, ZPE 54 (1984) 271ff.; P. Oxy. 3455.22ff.; P. Hamb. 227 Nachtrag (pp. 171–172).

τὸν Παῦν [ε] ι: That is, two and a half months later. Cf. **2606**.4–7. ἐάν corrected from env.

- 6 l. πεπονηκώς.
- 6, 8 l. σήμανον: Parallel forms are cited in P. Merton II 62.10-12 n. and Olsson 8.20f. n.
- 10 Φαμεν $\grave{\omega}(\theta)$   $\overline{i}\eta$  = March 14.

#### Translation

Herakleides to his brother Athenodoros, (many) greetings and continual health, as I pray. I came to Tilothis. The beer brewers have not ground the barley, unless ... them for a *stater* in Payni. Please let me know, if it so please you. Get busy and tend to the barley, for if you forget it, all is lost. I am therefore writing to you, so that you know about it. Let me know, therefore, whatever you will, and take care of yourself so that you stay well. Farewell. Year 2– of Caesar, Phamenoth 18. Verso: To Athenodoros the *dioecete*.

# 2609 Letter of Surety

P. 25251 17.7 x 17.4 cm. Herakleopolites Sept. 28, 7

Margins: upper 7.5; lower 3, left 5, right  $\pm$  2cm. Kollesis 2.3 cm. from the left margin. Verso blank. The same hand as on **2610**, **2611**, etc.

Herakleides presents Aspheus, son of Aspheus, a letter of surety guaranteeing him immunity from prosecution – except in the case of tax arrears – for thirty days. Parallels are: **1801**, **1811** = J. Hengstl, Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten, Darmstadt–Munich 1978, no. 52; BSAA 14 (1912) 196 = SB I 1414 = P. Alex., p. 14; Philologus 88 (1933) 297ff. = SB V 7636. Literature: Woess, Asylwesen 187ff.; Wolff, Recht 151.37; E. Weiss, Griechisches Privatrecht auf rechtsvergleichender Grundlage I, Leipzig 1923, repr. Aalen 1965, 538.21 (bibliography); D. Schäfer, "Zu den ptolemäischen πίστεις", Philologus 88 (1933) 296–30; E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.–Bat. XXIIA, 11.31 n.; W. Schmitz, ἡ πίστις in den griechischen Papyri, Diss. Cologne 1964.

'Ηρακλείδης 'Ασφεῖ 'Ασφέως χαίρειν δέδονταί σοι πίσ[τ]εις ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκειμ[έ-] νης πρὸς ἡμέρας τρ{ε}ιάκον[τ]α χωρ{ε}ὶς δημοσίων ἐν αἷς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς περι-

5 σπασθήση.

(ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος Φαῶφι ā

- 1 Ἡρακλείδης: Possibly the *strategos* of the same name in **1188**.1 and **2586**.2, since it was the *strategos* who issued such letters of protection (Woess 188).
- 2 -εις corrected from -ις. Cf. E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 11.31 n. on the use of the plural in such letters of guaranty.
- 3 πρὸς ἡμέρας τρ{ε}ιάκον[τ]α: Olsson 47.7–8 n., cites Heb. 12.10: πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας and Clemens, homil. XX 15: πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν. Cf. **2655**.23.
- 3-4 Aspheus enjoys immunity only in regard to his private debts; he can still be called to account for overdue taxes.

The mu in δημοσίων has been written over.

- 4 The parallels make it likely that in SB I 1414.5–6 = P. Alex., p. 14, instead of ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ι [Φ]αῶ[φι.] ὑπ' οὐδενὸς one should probably read ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἐ[ν] αἷ[ς] ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κτλ.
- 4-5 Cf. 2613.4 n.

### Translation

Herakleides to Aspheus, son of Aspheus, greetings. A letter of protection has been issued to you (valid) for thirty days from the (day) noted below (guaranteeing you immunity) apart from taxes, during which time you may not be prosecuted by anyone. Year 24 of Caesar, Phaophi 1.

### 99

### 2610 Letter

P. 25240 20.2 x 9.5 cm. Herakleopolites Nov. 13, 9

Margins: upper 3.8, left 2, lower 5.2 cm. Herakleides writes about various matters involving wheat. The same person who wrote **2609**, **2611**, **2612**, etc., was also responsible for writing this letter, as can be seen by his characteristic penmanship and idiosyncratic orthography.

'Ηρακλείδης 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ δὶα παντὸς ὑγ{ε}ιαίνειν ὡς εὕχομαι· πλεονάκ{ε}ις σοι ἔγραψα καὶ διὰ λόγων ἐρώτα γράψαι

- 5 τοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις τῆς Κόμα ἵνα τὸ σιτάριον παραλάβωσιν κ' οὐκ ἐπο(ί)ησας· πάλαι ἐμοὶ τὴν αιτ..[..] ἐπιλείψης, οἶδά σε μὴ ὄντα ἀμελήν· ἐὰν γὰρ λάθης, [ἐμ]πέση εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τ{ε}ιμῆς· ὁ γὰρ πυ[ρὸ]ς χρηστὸς
- 10 ἐστ $\{\epsilon\}$ ίν· τὰ δ' ἄλλ $\{\lambda\}$ α σεα $\langle \upsilon \rangle$ τοῦ ἐπ $\{\epsilon\}$ ιμέλου ἵν' ὑγ $\{\epsilon\}$ ιαίνης· 'ἔρρωσ(ο) [κβ] (ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρος 'Αθὑ $(\rho)$  τζ

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι

#### 11 αθυ

- 4 διὰ λόγων: Cf. P. Oxy. 292.7–8: ἠρώτησα ... διὰ γράπτου; H. Youtie, J. Winter, P. Mich. 492.5 n., for parallel expressions. l. ἠρώτα.
- 5 τῆς Κόμα: Cf. **2611**.6 n.

#### Translation

Herakleides to Athenodoros, his brother, many greetings and continual health, as I wish. Often I have written to you and also in conversation I have requested that you write to the people in charge of finances in Koma in order that they take the grain – and you have not done it! ... I know you are not negligent. If, however, you should forget it, then you will have to reckon with the person in charge of the price. For the wheat is of the best quality. Otherwise, take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 22 of Caesar, Hathyr 5. Verso: To Athenodoros (our) brother.

### 2611 Letter

P. 25242 25.5 x 13.5 cm. Herakleopolites Dec. 17, 10

Margins: upper 4, left 3, lower 5, right negligible. Traces of ink on the verso. Herakleides again writes to Athenodoros about grain deliveries. Same hand as: 2609, 2610, 2612, etc.

Ήρακλείδης 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγ{ε}ιαίνειν ὡς ε⟨ὕ⟩χομαι· ἀνέγνων ἃ γεγράφεις· οὕτε ποταπῶι μέτρωι ἐνβάλομαι οὐ γράφεις εἰς πόλ{ε}ιν· καὶ εἰ ἐκ τῶν

- 5 πρώτων πυρῶν ἐνβάλη εἰς ᾿Αλεξανδρέᾳ, σήμην(ον) εποπορος δέ μοι προσῆ(λ)θε ἐν τῆ Βουσίρει χάρ{ε}ιν (πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) φ ἐκ δραχμῶν διακοσίων ἐπὶ τόπου (ε)ἴποι σοι · σήμηνον μοι αὔριον εἰς Βουσῖρ{ε}ιν ὡς τὸ μέτρον ἐκεῖ ἐστ{ε}ιν · ἐγὼ{ι} γὰρ αὔριον εἰς Τιλῶθ{ε}ιν
- 10 πορεύομαι δο.[..]..[....]ματα τοῖς ἐμπόροις ειποι traces [ ]. ἡμῖν ἴνα ἐὰν ἄλλοι ἔλθωσιν πωλῶι· καὶ μὴ καθάπαξ [απ] κατέχωμεν τοὺς ἐμπόρου(ς)· τὰ δ' ἄ⟨λ⟩λα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγ{ε}ιαίνης{ς}.

ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κα Καίσαρος Χοιὰκ  $\bar{\kappa}$ 

15 πάντως σήμηνόν μοι αὔριον περὶ τοῦ μέτρου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐμπόρου· καὶ εἰς Τ{ε}ιλῶθειν μοι ἀποστεῖλον· πέμψον σάκ⟨κ⟩κους· αἰτούμεθα φόρετ⟨ρ⟩ον τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀρταβῶν (δρ.) δ.

# 5 -μην 7 1= 12 -πορο 14 χοιακ 18 <

3 ἀνέγνων: The normal form in Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic papyri (Mandilaras, Verb §306[8]; Gignac, Morphology 294).
γεγράφεις: Cf. P. Giss. 47.21: δέδωκεις. Mandilaras, Verb §233, cites further examples of

the pluperfect without the syllabic augment.

l. ἐμβάλωμαι.

- πρώτων πυρῶν: According to R. Salomons, P. Vindob. Tandem 9.20 n. and H. Thompson, APF 9 (1930) 210, the first grain of the season. Cf. **2621.**16.
  - l. 'Αλεξάνδρειαν: Cf. Olsson 20.9: εἰς 'Αλεξανδρέα and note. l. σήμανον also in lines 8 and 15.
- *l*. ὁ ἔμπορος?

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- τῆ Βουσίρει: The article before the village name is unusual; cf. **2419**.2; Mayser II,2, p. 15
- 7 ἐκ δραχμῶν διακοσίων: According to R.P. Duncan-Jones, Chiron 6 (1976) 241ff. and A.C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, Baltimore 1936, 310, the maximum price for an artab of wheat at this time was nine drachmas. Hence, 200 drachmas for one artab here seem implausible. On the other hand, if the sum represents the price for the amount of 500 artabs, it would be extremely cheap.
- l. ἐν Βουσίρει: On the confusion between εἰς and ἐν see Olsson 20.9 n.; Mayser II,2:
   Satzlehre, pp. 372–373; Jannaris, pp. 376–379, §§1538, 1547, 1557; Blass 132–133 §205.
- 10 Ι. δοῦν[αι γρά]μματα?
- 16 *l.* ἐν Τιλώθει: Cf. l. 8 n.

#### Translation

Herakleides to Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health, as I pray. I have read what you wrote. You do not write, however, what measure I should use for transporting to the city. If you are going to ship grain from the first harvest to Alexandria, let me know. A wholesale merchant (?) came to me in Busiris because of 500 artabs of wheat for 200 drachmas. He may tell (you about it ?) at (your) place (= in person). Let me know tomorrow in Busiris how it is with the measure there. I am going tomorrow to Tilothis to give the wholesale merchants letters (?) ... so that I may sell, if others come. Let us not hold back the wholesale merchants in any way. Otherwise, take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Choiak 20.

Let me know for sure tomorrow about the measure and about the merchant. Write to me in Tilothis. Send sacks. We are required (to pay) 4 drachmas as transport fees for a hundred artabs.

### 2612 Letter

P. 25252 20 x 16.5 cm. Herakleopolites June 25, 15

Margins: upper 4, lower 3, right 2.5, left 3 cm. *Kolleseis* 1.7 cm. from the right edge and 3 cm. from the left edge. Verso blank. The script is so unusually cursive that the individual letters often become lost in the jumble and have to be more divined than actually deciphered.

Seleukos writes to Athenodoros about various and sundry matters of interest and import only to them; the language used is so vague and cryptic as to be intelligible solely to these two correspondents.

Σέλευκος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι ἐπὶ πάντα προκεχ(ε)ίρισμαι πρὸς τὰ δὲ ἔτερα εὖ πο(ι)ήσεις ἐμββλλόμενος αὐτῶι ἑτέρους δύο καλοὺς καὶ ἀναγρομεναι χρήσας

5 αν.δ.. μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας πέμψω βαυβ..ς δύο· ἐκ παντὸς οὖν τρόπου πάντα μὴ κατα[...]ς ἐπίστασαι γὰρ ὡς κατὰ σπουδὴν πο⟨ι⟩εῖ· ἡμ{ε}ῖν δὲ γ(ράφε) περὶ νὧ/(ν) βούλει· ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) ιε Καίσ(αρος) ἘπεὶΦ α

### 7-1 9καισ

- 1 Σέλευκος: Cf. 2600.10, 2613, 2614, 2634.
- The papyrus seems to show θοντα which is probably a cursively written πάντα.
  l. ὡς προκεχ(ε)(ρισμαι?, apparently a new greeting formula.
- Ι. ἐμβαλλόμενος.
- 4 ἀναγρομεναι: *l*. ὄναγρον ἐμοί?
- 6 έκ παντός οὖν τρόπου: Cf. Olsson 25.9; 26.7.
- 7 κατὰ σπουδήν: Cf. Olsson 5.10, 17.13, citing further bibliography.

#### Translation

Seleukos to (his) brother, Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health in every way, since I desire it (for you). As far as the other things are concerned, you will do well to load on it two other good ones and .... After a few days I will send two .... You should, on no account, ...! You understand things have to be done quickly. Write us what you think about these things. Farewell. Year 15 of Caesar, Epeiph 1.

## 2613 Letter

P. 25244 22.7 x 13.5 cm. Herakleopolites 15/14

Margins: upper 5, lower 7.5, left 1.5 cm. Verso blank. The same script as on 2645 and 2664.

Seleukos, who sometimes appears as *dioecete* in the Athenodoros correspondence but here makes no mention of his position, complains to Athenodoros that his agents have been harassing Seleukos's agents. Seleukos makes it clear in no uncertain terms that he expects these incidents to cease forthwith.

Σέλευκος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσθαι· Ἡρᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάτης καὶ 'Αρτεμᾶς ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἡρακλᾶς τοῦ 'Εβήους ἐντετεύχασι ὡς ἐνωχλουμένοι ὑπὸ πῶν παρά σου ποὸς ἀριθυπτικόνι ἐρατῶ

5 ὑπὸ τῶν παρά σου πρὸς ἀριθμητικόν · ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε συντάξαι τῶν συνεκδήμων μου

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ἀποσκέσθαι ἢ ὅτι παροπλιεῖς με· μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσηις· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἵν' ὑγιαίνηις·

10 —

ἔρρωσο · (ἔτους) ις Καίσα(ρος) Με.( ) β

1 Σέλευκος: Cf. **2612**.1 n. and p. 81.

'Έβήους: addendum onomasticis; cf. **2440**.16: 'Εμβῆς. ἐνωχλομένοι: Ε. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 11.30 n., discusses whether or not there is any difference between the verbs παρενοχλεῖν and περισπᾶν; and A. Hanson, ZPE 47 (1982) 242, the use of παρενοχλεῖν to describe government officials' actions. Cf. her note in P. Turner 24.13–14; G. Horsley, NDIEC 3, no. 36.

5 ἀριθμητικόν: In the absence of any more precise qualifiers it is difficult to say exactly what sort of tax is involved here. It could be either the ἀριθμητικόν κατοικῶν (cf. Nelson, 2525 introd.; P. Sijpesteijn, R. Daniel, ZPE 59 [1985] 47f.) or the ἀριθμητικόν associated with the ἐννόμιον (Wallace 86–87). Less likely is the ἀριθμητικόν φυλακιτῶν

(Wallace 330).

6 συνεκδήμων: Unattested in the documentary papyri. According to LSJ "fellow travellers"; here evidently referring not to people travelling with Seleukos but rather to his agents travelling together as a threesome.

7 *l.* ἀποσχέσθαι?

η ότι: "Widrigenfalls", Mayser II, 3 §155, p. 47. Cf. 2371.3,4.

παροπλιεῖς: Usually the word means "disarm", but in this context it seems to mean more the contrary: "enrage". Cf. the German entrüsten which has undergone a similar semantic shift: J. and W. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Leipzig 1862, s.v. "ursprünglich aber bedeutete es einem die rüstung, die waffen ausziehen, exspoliare".

### Translation

Seleukos to (his) brother Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health. Heras the *epistates*, Artemas the scribe and Heraklas, son of Ebes, have petitioned me because they have been harassed by your officials responsible for collecting the *arithmetikon*-tax. I, therefore, request you to stay away from my agents travelling together! Otherwise, you will anger me! Do not act contrary (to my wishes)! Otherwise, see to it that you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 16 of Caesar, Me- 2.

### 2614 Letter

P. 25390 14 x 11.5 cm. Herakleopolites 15/14

Margins: upper 2.5, left 0.5–1 cm. Verso blank. The same writing as on **2605**, **2634**, **2636**, **2653**, **2667** and **2668**.

Athenodoros writes to Seleukos about petty financial matters.

'Αθηνόδωρ[ος Σε]λεύκῳ τῷ [φιλτάτωι] ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ δι[ὰ παντὸς] ἐρρωμένῷ ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν ὡς [εὕχομαι·]
ὡς ἀπέστειλ[ε]ς λέγων μερίσαι ε[.......]
τῷ ἐλεάτρῷ Α⟨ί⟩λιανῷ μέχρι οὖ κα[ὶ] τὰ θ'
ἐξαρτίσας ὀψωνίοις ἐμέρισα. δέομαι
δέ σου μὴ [μη] ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἦς μοι ὡμολογήσας "ρυσασθαι ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας·
καὶ ἐάν σοι φαίνηται συντάξεις ὑμεῖν

10 γραφῆναι περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις σοι \..../ ἐγβησο-

μένων [θαιαναμλη] ἐρωτῶ δέ σέ μοι πέμψασθαι Ἡρακλῆν τὸν χωλὸν ἄλογος ησ[..]ι αὐτὸν καὶ νῦν γενέσθαι.

...[ ].դև[

3 ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν: This expression is frequent in the Athenodoros archive. Cf. Olsson 18.12. R.Bagnall, BASP 6 (1969) 85 and U. Wilcken, UPZ 60.15 n., cite other occurrences of the relatively rare ἐπανάγειν. Wilcken analyzes such parallel expressions as ἱκανῶς, στενῶς, μετρίως ἐπανάγειν and comes to the conclusion that the verb "in ganz abgeblasster Bedeutung geradezu für ἔχειν 'sich befinden' steht. Die zugrunde liegende Bedeutung des Verbums dürfte aber die des 'sich Erholens' sein … Hiernach würde verständlich sein, dass Adverbien wie die obigen damit verbunden werden, nicht βέλτιστα, o. ä". Here, however, contrary to his impressions, is the superlative ἄριστα. Cf. Olsson no. 18.12–13: τὰ ἄριστα πράττων. Cf. 2619.2 and Plato, epist., passim: εὖ πράττειν.

5 μέχρι οὖ: Cf. Olsson 19.7 n. (= **1204**.7) on this construction without ἄν. Pap.: τα θ'.

9 *l*. μοι

### Translation

Athenodoros to Seleukos, most (beloved) brother, many greetings, (continual) health and prosperity, as (I wish for you). Since you wrote me saying to pay out ... to the cook Ailianus ... I have paid, supplying (him/them?) with the salaries. I, therefore, ask you not to forget what you promised to save for me from the household. If it please you, order that it be written to us concerning the things which are first going to happen to you. Therefore, I ask you to send me the cripple Herakleides ....

### 2615 Letter

P. 25182 10.7 x 8.5 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 2, left 2, right 1.7 cm. Verso blank.

The sole interest of this shabby fragment is prosopographical, for in it we learn the names of Athenodoros's parents: Menelaos and Herakleia – provided that Menelaos and Herakleia are, in fact, addressing their biological son and not just employing the Greek word for son as an indiscriminate and general term of familiarity.

Μενέλαος καὶ Ἡράκλεια Ἀθηνοδώρωι
τῶι νἱῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι
διευτυχεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς κ[α]θάπερ
εὐχόμεθα·..ου σου τὰς λ...[ ]κατα
5 ..οίμεθα οὐκ ἔχομεν [ ]υτο
[ ]οσασε.[ ].αι
[ ]..σι[ ]
ημειν ἡμεῖν τασ[ ].
ποιῆ ἀφ' ὧν ...[ ]
10 [..]ου γράφει διὰ παντ[ὸς ]
[ ]θος καὶ .[ ]

1-2 Cf. 2617.1 n. In UPZ I 70, Apollonios addresses his brother Ptolemaios with "father"!

### Translation

Menelaos and Herakleia to (their) son, Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health, forever and at all times as we wish ....

### 2616 Letter

P. 25393 21.7 x 16.5 cm. Herakleopolites January 9, 13

Margins: upper 5.3, left 3, lower 2.5. Verso blank.

Athenodoros writes to his father (who remains here otherwise unnamed) that he will shortly be coming to him. Other members of Athenodoros's family are mentioned by name throughout the letter.

'Αθηνόδωρος τῶι πατρὶ πλεῖστα χαίρειν [καὶ] ἐρρωμέν[ω]ι διευτυχεῖν· [±9].[.] εἰς Π[εενσ]αμοὶ ταχύτερο[ν] τὸν ἀ[δε]λφὸν 'Οννῶφριν· γ{ε}ίνωσκέ με

- 5 τοὺς ἐν.[...]έχοντα κ....ιονωι· καὶ γράφε μοι σὺ περ[ὶ τῆ]ς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας· ἐπισκ[όπει] τὴν ἀναπ[.].ν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ [τὸν ἀ]δε[λ]φὸν .[.... κ]αὶ Τρύφαιναν καὶ 'Ηρακλείδην τ[ὸν] φίλον· γ[ε}ίνωσκε δὲ ἡμᾶς ταχύτερον ἀνα-
- 10 πλέοντες·

ἔρρωσο · (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρος Τῦβι τῆ

1 τῶι πατρί: Menelaos? Cf. **2615**.l.

- 3 Π[εενσ]αμοί: Cf. **2437**.41; **2640**.3; SB I 5681.19; P. Lugd.-Bat. XIII 13.2; W. Clarysse, Anc. Society 7 (1976) 202; P. Hels. I 26 A 28.
- 4, 9 *l.* γίγνωσκε.
- 5 -κινωι?
- 6 *l*. ὑμῶν. σωτηρίας: Cf. **2659**.6.
- 7 *l*. ἀνεψιάν?
- 9-10 Ι. ἀναπλέοντας.

### Translation

Athenodoros to his father, many greetings, health and good fortune. ... in Peensamoi quickly brother, Onnophris. Know that I .... Write me how you are. Watch over my niece (?), my sister, my brother, ... Tryphaina and (my) friend, Herakleides. Know that we are soon going to sail up. Farewell. Year 17 of Caesar, Tybi 13.

### 2617 Letter

P. 25238 22 x 15 cm. Herakleopolites July 11, 7

Margins: upper 1.5, lower 8.7, right  $\pm$  4 cm. Athenodoros's father/mother, Tryphas, reports to his/her son the delivery of a load of wood and pots. Some of Athenodoros's family members known from other letters in the archive appear here.

Τρυφ[α]ς 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι υἱῶι πλεῖ[στ]α χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐτυχεῖν [ὡς εὕχο]μαι· ἐκομισάμην ὰς ἀπέστειλες

# 2618 Letter

P. 25245 26.5 x 11.5 cm. Herakleopolites May 10, 7

Margins: upper 2.5, left 1.5, right  $\pm$  1 cm.

Tryphas addresses this letter to Athenodoros and his sister Artemis but consistently employs only second person singular pronoun forms throughout the letter, thus implying that that it is mainly Athenodoros to whom this letter is directed. Tryphas complains to Athenodoros that the grain, which Athenodoros was supposed to have sent, has not yet arrived. Furthermore, because Athenodoros has not paid certain fines, some of the slaves are still being held in prison and will probably die as a result of his negligence. Two bailiffs are daily harassing Tryphas to pay the money. In a final note of paternal/maternal concern, Tryphas cautions Athenodoros to lock his grain away, giving none of it to anyone. The price of grain on that day has already gone up by three obols, and there is widespread fear it may increase even further.

Τρυφᾶς 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῷ υἱῷ καὶ 'Αρτέμιτι τῇ θυγατρὶ πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσθαι· γ{ε}ίνωσκε τὸν σῖτον ὃν ἀπέστει-

- 5 λές μοι μὴ εἰληφέναι με αὐτόν · ⟨κα-⟩
  τέλαβον γὰρ ὅτ[ι] οὐ συνφέρει με λα[β-]
  εῖν αὐτόν · τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν κέλευ ʾ α[ὐ-]
  τὸν ἀρθῆναι · οὐδ ʾ ἔθοας οὐδ ᾽ οὐθεὶς εὐτονεῖ τὰ σώματ ᾽ ἐκπα⟨ί⟩ειν ·
- 10 ἐκάστης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνοχλοῦμαι ὑπὸ δύωι στατόρων Σωκ[ρά-]
  του τε καὶ Ἐλήμμονος [.....]
  εὑρουμένη καὶ ἐνεχυρασαμένη · πολλάκι⟨ς⟩ σοι δὲ γεγράφη[κ]α
- 15 σοὶ μελήση ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων · ἀποθανοῦνται ἐν τῆ φυλακι · καλῶς δὲ πο(ι)ήσεις ἀκούσας μου καὶ τὸν σ{ε}ῖτόν σου συνκλείσας καὶ μηθενὶ μηθὲν
- 20 διδών: τῆ γὰρ πεντακαιδεκάτη ἀνέβη (τριωβόλου) καὶ φοβοῦνται μὴ τιμιώτερος γένηται: ἀσπάζεταί σε Νάρδος καὶ Νεικᾶς καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκωι πάν-

[καὶ ή]σφαλισάμην αὐτὰ δι' ἐμα⟨υ⟩τῆς τεσσαρά
[κ]οντα κορμοὺς καὶ ἕνα καὶ δεκάτρια κεράμια ·
[ἀσπ]άζου τὰς κυρίας μου θυγατρες Τρυφᾶν καὶ "Αρτεμιν · παρὰ πάντα ἐπιμέλου σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ [ί]να ὑγι[αίν]ης ὅ ἐστί μοι εὐκτότατον παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖ⟨ς⟩ θεοῖς.

10

ἔρρωσ(ο)

(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ τζ

vso: ἀπόδος παρὰ Τρυφ[ᾶ τῶι ᾿Αθηνοδώρωι aut sim.

- 1 Τρυφ[α]ς: Cf. 2618. 1 ≠ 2615.2, where Menelaos and Herakleia address Athenodoros as their son. F. Preisigke, P. Strasb. 2.1 n., considers the word νίος in such salutations as fictive, a mere term of endearment, with no deeper significance than the somewhat more common ἀδελφός or πατήρ.
- 1. ούς.
- l. αὐτούς.

l. ἐμαυτοῦ? One is inclined to emend, since Tryphas is a man's name. In l. 6, however, one of the daughters is also named Tryphas. Furthermore, in **2618** a certain Tryphas writes to his or her son Athenodoros using feminine participles (l. 13: εὑρουμένη καὶ ἐνεχυρασαμένη). Presumably some sort of linguistic confusion is at play here resulting in these errors of gender.

- 4-5 ι. τεσσαρά[κ]οντα καὶ ἕνα κορμούς.
- 6 Ι. θυγατέρας.
- 7 "Αρτεμιν: Cf. **2618**.2.
  - παρὰ πάντα: Cf. 2600.17, 2622.22; P. Heid. IV 48.16.
- 8 εὐκτότατον: Cf. **2600**.19; P. Cugusi, ZPE 40 (1980) 184–186; A. Bowman, D. Thomas, Vindolanda: The Latin Writing-Tablets, London 1983, no. 21.6–7 n.; H. Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr. (= Annales Acad. Scient. Fennicae Ser. b, tom. 102.2), Helsinki 1956, 129–130.
- 12 ἀπόδος παρά: Cf. Olsson p. 21 and no. 19.20; P. Heid. IV 48.18; F. Ziemann, De epistularum graecarum formulis, Diss. Phil. Hal. 18, 1911, 278f. (non vidi).

#### Translation

Tryphas to her son, Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health, as I wish. I have received the forty-one tree trunks and thirteen jars which you sent and have brought them into a safe place myself. Give my regards to the ladies, my daughters, Tryphas and Artemis. Otherwise, take care of yourself that you stay healthy – my most fervent wish by all the gods. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar, Epeiph 17. Vso: Give from Tryphas (to Athenodoros?).

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τες· ἐπιμέλου δὲ σ(ε)α(υ)τοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαί(νης)·

25 ἔρρ

ἕρρωσο· (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Παχνὼ/(ν)  $\overline{\iota}\overline{\epsilon}$ 

vso: από δ/(ος) 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι υἱῶι.

# 21 7 25 vylai

- 1 Τρυφᾶς: Cf. **2617**.1 n.
- 2 'Αρτέμιτι: Cf. **2617**.7.
- 4 Ι. γίγνωσκε.
- 8 ἔθοας: LSJ Suppl. s.v. θοάω = θοάζω suggests translating "penalize, fine" instead of "pay the penalty". However, in the present context the latter translation seems more appropriate.
- 10 ἐνοχλοῦμαι: Cf. **2613**.4 n.
- 11 *l.* δυοίν.

στατόρων: *Statores* also appear in SB 8248.23 = OGIS II 665 = CIG 2956 = Congr. 4, p. 9; P. Hamb. I 39, p. 76. P. Jouguet in: Congr. 4, p. 10, and J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3917.1 n., discuss the word. Here, the *statores* are evidently bailiffs empowered to collect the fines which Tryphas or Athenodoros owe for the slaves in prison.

13–14 l. εύρομένη καὶ έ. οτ εύρόμενος καὶ ἐνεχυρασάμενος if Tryphas is a man. Hendiadys. 16–17 l. συλακῆ.

- 20 Why does not Tryphas write σήμερον "today", for the letter is written on the 15th of Pachon?
- 22–23 Νάρδος: "Spikenard". The name seems to be unattested; cf. SB 7255: Ναρδίων and **2419**.2: 'Αμάρακος "Marjoran". For bibliography on slaves' nomenclature see **2372**.4f. n; H. Chantraine, Freigelassene und Sklaven ... ihre Nomenklatur, Wiesbaden 1967; P. Vindob. Tandem 9.19 n.; H. Heinen, Stud. Hell. 27 (1983) 136.13, 138.17,18 etc.; U. Horak, Tyche 4 (1989) 104–107.
- 24  $\sigma(\epsilon)\alpha(\nu)$ τοῦ: Cf. Döllstädt, p. 10.

#### Translation

Tryphas to son, Athenodoros, and daughter, Artemis, greetings and continual health. You should know that I have not yet received the grain which you sent me. For I understand it was not expedient for me to get it. Therefore, order it to be sent.

You have not paid the fines. No one can free the slaves. Every day I am harassed by the two bailiffs, Sokrates and Elemmon, because I am found owing. I have written to you often enough to see to the slaves. They will die in prison!

You will do well to listen to me and lock up your grain, giving nothing to anyone. For it went up by three obols on the fifteenth, and they fear it will become even more expensive. Nardos, Neikas and all the others in the house send their regards. Take care of yourself that you stay well. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar, Pachon 15. Vso: Give to Athenodoros, (my) son.

### 2619 Letter

P. 25388 10.7 x 11.4 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 2, left 1 cm. Erasistratos needs radishes for a φάρμακον and reminds Athenodoros to send the ones he apparently at some time had promised him. It is unclear whether the radishes are intended for medicine or magic, since the ambiguous word φάρμακον can mean either, and radishes appear in both medicinal and magical contexts.

ίνα σε καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα ἔχωμεν

\_\_\_\_\_

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι] διοικητῆι

- 1 'Ερασίστρατος: The name is heretofore unattested in the papyri; cf. Pape; SEG 29 (1979) 1245.
- 2 εὖ πράσσ(ε)·ιν: Cf. Döllstädt, p. 30; P. Strasb. 553 (Addend.), 772.25; CPR VII 55.3; Olsson no. 18.12–13, for similar expressions; and Plato, epist.: εὖ πράττειν passim.
- 3-4 Cf. **2637**. 2-3. One expects here something like ἀφικνομένου πρός σε κτλ.
- 4–5 ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνων ἀσπάσασθαί σε: Cf. Olsson, no. 35.3 (= **824**.3) who cites as parallels no. 75.3 (= P. Oxy. XIV 1756.3), no. 53.19 (= P. Fay. 111.19), II Cor. 9.5. Cf. Mandilaras §347; B. Kramer, P. Köln VI 278.3–4 n.; N. Lewis, BASP 11 (1974) 52; **2659**; A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, Untersuch. z. kopt. Briefformular, Würzburg 1983, 62–63.
- 5-6 ἡαφανίνου: Cf. Sandy 6; Marganne 221; R. Germer, "Rettich", LdÄ V, 247. Radish-oil is specified for use in a magical ceremony in PGM II 55.
- 6 l. ἀπράκτως?
- 8–9 The distinction Erasistratos makes between φόριμος and ἄδολος is not readily apparent.
- 10 ι. τὰ δ' ἄλλα.

#### Translation

Erasistratos to Athenodoros ... prosperity .... Since Ammon, the ... (is coming to you?), I considered it necessary to send you my regards and remind you about the

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radish. For I now need ... since I am preparing the medication with it. Hence, if you do not have any that is in fruit (?), send me some pure so that it can be used. Otherwise, pay attention to your health so that we may receive you in prosperity. Vso: To Athenodoros, the *dioecete*.

### 2620 Letter

P. 25278

Herakleopolites

22.7 x 5.6 cm., 22.2 x 6.7 cm.

Margins: upper 5, lower 8, left 2.5, right 1.2–3.3 cm. Kollesis 1.5 cm. from the left.

'Αμμώνιος 'Αθηνοδώ[ρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι] πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγαίνειν [ὡς εὕχομαι· ἔχω τὰ] παρά σου γράμματα δι' οὖ [ἐ]σήμαινες περὶ τῆς [ ± 12 ]να μοι οὐ κακοπαθεῖ α[..] εἰσὶν ἐν 'Ηρακλ[έους πόλει ]ω ἔως γενόμ[εν]ος σήμερον οὖν τεύξ[ομαι ± 5 τὰ δ'] ἄλλα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλ(ου) 'ίν' ὑγαίνης· [ (ἔτους) .. Καίσ]αρος Παχὼν ζ

vso: 'Αθη[νοδ]ώρωι

2 *l*. δι' ὧν.

### Translation

Ammonios to Athenodoros (my brother), many greetings and continual health, (as I wish. I have received the) letter from you via which you reported about the ... he is not in trouble ... in Herakleopolis ... Therefore, today I shall meet .... Otherwise, take care of yourself so that you stay healthy. (Year ...) of Caesar, Pachon 7. Vso: To Athenodoros.

### 2621 Letter

P. 25279 30 x 12 cm. Herakleopolites Sept. 15, 16

Margins: upper 3.5, lower 4, left 1.7 cm.

A certain Apollo writes to Athenodoros, addressing him with the familiar Athas, requesting various favors from him.

'Απόλλων 'Αθᾶι [τῷ] ἀδελ[φῷ] [πλ]εῖστα χαί(ρειν) ......()

- καλῶς πο⟨ι⟩ή[σ]εις [πέμψων π]υροῦ ἀρτάβ[ας ...]
  τη.ητα ....... ἑκάστων ἐρίων
  παρ[ ± 20 ].νος παρ' αὐτὴν
  καὶ αὐτοὺς απ.[ ± 10 ]έσταλκα δὲ εἰ κατ'
  'Ασκλᾶτος ἐπεσταλ[ ± 8 ]λυσαι πίστεις
  τῶι 'Απελλᾶτι .[ ....] καλῶς πο⟨ι⟩ήσας δοὺς
  αὐτὰ τῶι Πτολλᾶτι · δέδοται παρά σου αὐτὰ
- 10 ἰσχύεται κατ' ἀ[ὐτοὺ]ς ἐγὼ τὴν διπλῆν χάριτά σοι ἀποδοῦναι .[....].... αὐτὸν σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ· εἰσ-.λας γὰρ καθ[α]ρῆναι αυτῶι, σοῦ μετα-καλέσα[ν]τος κ.....[...]σθαι .....ναν ε. ἡθέλετε· λοιπὸν [ο]ὖν γενηθεὶς μετ' αὐτοῦ,
- 15 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσατε ἔχοντα τὸ ἀργύρι(ον) καὶ τὸν πυρὸν· δεύτερον γὰρ ἥδιστον ἀποπρ..\ω/() μεμάνηκά σου μεγαλῶς διατρέπομαι λοιπὸν οὖν γράφε περὶ ὧν ἐὰν βούλῃ καὶ traces ἔρρ\ω/(σο)· (ἔτους) ιε Καίσαρ(ος) Θὼθ ιῆ
- 20 vso: ἀπόδο]ς 'Αθην[οδώρφ
- 'Aθαι: Cf. **2647**.15, **2655**.13.

ἔχ[ε]ιν

- 8 Πτολλᾶτι: Cf. **2602**.11,18, **2659**.11.
- 10 τὴν διπλῆν χάριτα: Cf. **2622**.15-16.
- 11-12 εἰσάσας?
- 15 Pap.: αργυρῖ
- 16 Cf. **2611**.5: πρώτων πυρῶν.
- 17 μεμάνηκα: An unusual active form of this ordinarily deponent verb.
- 8 *l*. ἄν.
- 19 ἔρρ\ω/(σο): Döllstädt, p. 11, compares the use of ἔρρω(σο) and ἀσπάζομαι. Pap.: καισαρ

#### Translation

Apollo to Athas, (my) brother, many greetings .... Please send ... artabs of wheat ... each of the fleeces ... (l. 6) prepare letters of surety for Apellas .... You did well to give them to Ptollas. These were given by you (for him?) to have .... It is possible for me to have my pleasure in them doubled by giving to you .... (l. 14) Moreover, therefore, when you are together with him, release the man who has the money and the wheat. For the second (wheat) is the best (quality) .... I was very angry with you, since I was deterred .... Write about whatever you wish, and .... Farewell. Year 15 of Caesar, Thoth 18. Vso: Give to Athenodoros.

### 2622 Letter

P. 25181 26 x 13 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 3.6, lower 1.5, left 1 cm. The same hand as on **2643**, **2644**. Mnaseas writes to Athenodoros in his function as *dioecete* about different matters, especially about a certain Hermas who was supposed to have brought money but who arrived empty-handed. Mnaseas also implores Athenodoros to look after a certain Thermuthas who needs money. She will soon be attending the festival of Demeter, and without financial support she runs the risk of remaining "profane". In conclusion, Mnaseas requests woolens for the winter.

Μνασέας 'Αθηνοδώρωρι τῶι ἀδελφῶι καὶ διοικητῆι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν ὡς εὕχομαι · ἐξενίσθην μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῶι Ἑρμᾶν παραγενό-

- μενον μηδὲν ἐνηνοχέναι ὧν ἔγραψεν
   ἐσχηκέναι παρά σου· ἔγραψέν μοι γὰρ ὅτ[ι] ανο μ..ος ..[.]ων.. .... ἔσχηκεν ἀργυρίου
   δραχ/(μὰς) τετρακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν γεγον[(υιῶν)]
   .....ων δραχ/(μ-) διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) χπ· λοιπὸν οὖν
- 10 διοικητά, \τῆς/ Θερ[μ]ουθᾶτος φροντίσας ταχύτερον αὐτῆ πέ[μψον ί]να μὴ ἐν Δημητρίοις ἀνίε-ρ[ο]ς γένηται· καὶ σὺ γὰρ γνοσεισαι ὅτι οὐδέ πω οὐκέτι ἰσχύω· μὴ οὖν [διὰ] τοὺς περισπασμοὺς ἀμελήσης ἀλλ' ὡς πάντοτ' ἐποίε(ι)ς καὶ νῦν
- 15 αὐτῆς φρόντισον ἐγ καιροῦ ἴνα διπλῆ
  [ἡ] χάρις γένηται · ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ ἐσμεν ἀμν[ἡμονες · Έ]ρμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀμελήση ἀλλὰ σχεθῆ σε
  [.....] νῦν δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδας διὰ τῆς
  ἐπιστολῆς ἐνβαλὼν μεμυκτήρικεν · καὶ τὰ
- 20 ἐρίδια· εὖ καλῶς ποιήσας β ταχύτερον πέμψον ἵν' ἔχῃ εἰς τὸν χειμῶνα· ἀλλὰ ἐὰν οὐ μή, καὶ ἃ πόκια παρακληθεὶς πέμψον παρὰ πάντα δὲ σε⟨αυ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς ἃ δὴ πρῶτον ἡμῖν τῶν ἐις εὐχήν ἐστιν

ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους)[

25

vso: παρὰ Μνασέου 11.5 cm. 'Αθηνοδώρωι 9/ υ3 ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν: Cf. 2614.3 n.

4,17 The Hermas here might be the same one as the Hermas in 2634 and 2660.12.

λοιπὸν οὖν: A pleonasm according to D. Tabachovitz, Etudes sur le grec de la basse époque, Uppsala 1943, 29–32, Cf. A. Hanson, BASP 24 (1987) 98: τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν.

- 11 Δημητρίοις: Papyrological attestations to the festival of Demeter are listed in Ronchi, Lexicon s.v. and L. Casarico, Aegyptus 61 (1981) 126–131. Cf. Fraser I, 198–201, and F. Perpillou-Thomas, "Fêtes d'Egypte hellénistique et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque," Studia Hellenistica (forthcoming). Since the Demeter festival seems to have taken place in Phaophi (November) this letter would have been written sometime before then.
- 11–12 ἀνίερ[o]ς: The word, which is relatively rare, appears here for the first time in the documentary papyri. In the mundane language of Mnaseas's letter it denotes probably nothing more consequential than that Thermuthas might be short of cash at the festival and hence unable to participate fully in all the rituals thought necessary.

 λ γνοίης: Apparently Mnaseas tried writing a so-called Aeolic optative; cf. Gignac Morphology 360.

14 ως πάντοτ' ἐποίε(ι)ς?, ως πάντοτε ποιε(ι)ς?

15 *l.* ἐκ.

16–17 ἀμν[ήμονες is somewhat too long for the lacuna.

17 οὐ μή: Mayser II,1 §44 (p. 233) condemns this usage.

18–19 The letter which Hermas is supposed to have written (cf. l. 6) was written only to rouse false hopes in Mnaseas. According to Mnaseas's interpretation of the matter, Hermas's sole concern was to make laughingstocks of his addressees.

19 *l*. ἐμβαλών.

- 20 ἐρίδια: See J. Keenan, "Pastoralism in Roman Egypt", BASP 26 (1989) 175–200, esp. 183ff., on Roman Egypt's "wool strategy".

  l. εὖ {καλῶς}, {εὖ} καλῶς?
- 21–22 l. ἀλλὰ ἐὰν οὐ μή ⟨ἐρίδια ἔχης⟩, καὶ ἃ πόκια ⟨ἔχης⟩ κτλ.

22-23 παρά πάντα: Cf. 2600.17, 2617.7, 2624.14: πρὸ μὲν ὅλων.

24 ἃ δὴ πρῶτον κτλ.: Cf. **2600.**19, **2624**, **2643**, **2659**, **1204**.8, **1206**.49 (= Olsson, nos. 2 and 6); *ibid.*., no. 43.5–60.

#### Translation

Mnaseas to my brother Athenodoros, the *dioecete*, many greetings, continued health and prosperity, because I wish it. I was deeply concerned because upon his arrival here Hermas did not have all the things which he wrote he had received from you. For he wrote me that ... he had 480 drachmas and instead of the ..., two hundred drachmas, all told 680 drachmas. Moreover, *dioecete*, look after Thermuthas and send her (money?) at once so that she not become profane at the Demeter festival. You should know that I am not at all healthy. See to it that you with all your work obligations do not neglect her. Rather make sure that even now –as always in the past – you take care of here at the right time, so that (our) joy be doubled. We are ungrateful (?). Hermas should not be negligent but rather hold you .... Although he roused our hopes with his letter, he has derided us.

With regard to the wool: You would do well to send us quickly two (fleeces), so that they are here for the winter. If that is not possible, then send us whatever fleeces you have. Above all, take care of yourself so you stay healthy – the first thing in ou prayers. Fare well. Year .... Vso: From Mnaseas to Athenodoros.

### 2623 Letter of Recommendation

P. 25241 19.7 x 16 cm. Herakleopolites April 17, 10

Margins: upper 2, left 3, lower 5.5 cm.

Leukios, a friend of Phaidros, is about to go on a business trip to the Herakleopolite nome. Since he has no acquaintances there and no place to stay, Phaidros remembers his old friend, Athenodoros, and asks of him a favor, namely, to look after Leukios. For bibliography on letters of recommendation see **2654** introd.

Φαΐδρος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν κα[ὶ] ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστ' ἐπανάγειν ὡς βούλομαι—
Λεύκιος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀναπλέων εἰς τὸν 'Ηρακλεοπολλ/(ίτην) ἐπὶ εἴσπραξιν ἰδίων κερματίων ἄνωθέν μοι

- 5 ὢν φίλος ἠρώτησεν οὖ στῆσαι αὐτὸν εἴ τισιν ἔχειν ἐκεῖ σε φίλοις· οὐχ ὁρῶν οὖν ἐν τῶι παρόντι ἄ[λλο]ν [ἀ-] νότερόν σου ὡρμήθην γράψας παρακαλέσαι σε εἰ ἄρα ἔτι ἔστιν τίς σοι μνήμην [ἡ]μῶν· εἰκὸς δ' ἐ[στιν] οὖν ἐπισχῖσαι τ'ἀνδρ⟨ε⟩ῖ[α] καὶ φρ[ο]ντίσαι ἐν οἷς ἐάν [σου]
- 10 χρήσηι ἐν τῶι τῆς ἐπιδημίας χρόνωι· πεί[θομαι]
  γὰρ αὐτόν τέ σοι εὐαρεστήσειν ἐμὲ οὐχ ἦττ[ον]
  αἰσθησόμενον τὸ ἔκ σου σπουδαῖον· τὰ δ' ἄλλα [......]
  [σε]αυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑγιαίν[ε]ιν ἐπιμέλου—ἔρρ\ω/(σο)· (ἔτους) κ Καίσ\α/(ρος) Παχὼν β⁻
- 15 vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι
- 2 ἄριστ' ἐπανάγειν: Cf. 2614.3 n.
- 3 Λεύκιος = Lucius?
- 5 ἠρώτησεν: As Keyes, AJP 56 (1935) 42, says, this request weakens the recommendation.
- 5-6 1. οδ στήσαιμι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ ἐχοίμην σε ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ φίλοις.
- 7 ὑρμήθην: Cf. **2420**.4; PSI IV 299.2; Döllstädt, no. III, p. 30.2.
- 6–7 *l.* ἀνώτερον.
- 9 ἐπισχίσαι τ' ἀνδρῖ[α]: Taken *au pied de la lettre* this makes no sense. It must obviously be an idiom.
- 11 οὐχ ἡττ[ον]: Cf. P. Giss. bibl. 20.6: οὐδὲν δ' ἡττον.
- 12 αἰσθησόμενον: Cf. **249**.19–20: αἰσθόμενός σου τὴν εἴς με φιλοφ[ροσ]ύ[νην].

#### Translation

Phaidros to his brother, Athenodoros, greetings, best prosperity and health, as I wish. Leukios, a good man, is coming up to the Herakleopolites to collect his money. Since he has long been a friend of mine, he asked me where I might be able to find him room and if I counted you among my friends there. Since I know no one

else at present who lives further up than you, I have taken the trouble to write you and ask (this favor), if you are still able to remember us. It is fitting to show manly virtue and to attend to whatever he might require of you during his stay. I believe he will please you, and I for my part will not be left feeling any lack of effort made on your part. Otherwise, take care of yourself and your health. Farewell. Year 20 of Caesar, Pachon 2. Vso: To Athenodoros.

### 2624 Letter

P. 25255 19.7 x 16 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 5 cm., left 2–2.5 cm., right variable, lower 5.3 cm. Three layers of papyrus are visible along the entire right edge of the letter for a width of 1.8 cm. Kraterion writes to Athenodoros, whom he addresses as *dioecete*, about sundry affairs which will remain forever intelligible to them alone.

Κρατερίων 'Αθη[νοδώρωι τῶι]
διοικητῆι πλεῖστα χαίρ[ειν καὶ]
ἐρρωμένῳ διε[υτ]υχεῖν
καὶ εἰ πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ τα[ῦ]τα εὖ
καταστρέφεται, νοῶ ἐγὼ ε.[...]ι
οὐ καταναβαλοῦμαι τὸ ἄλλ[ο...]
πλοῖον εἰς τὸ ἐνγινόμεν[ον ]

- συντε.[....]σ.ετεμβυ.αιοις

  εἰς λόγον καὶ ...ον· λοι[πὸν]

  οὖν πεμ[

  μέχρι οὖ παραδῶ τοῖς εν...λ\ε/()

  ἐπὶ σφραγίδων [..]σας σου· πρὸ μὲν

  ὅλων σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης) ὃ δὴ μέγισ(τον)
- 15 ἡμεῖν ἐστιν ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρ ...εφ ιξ

14 υ Η, μεγιό

- Κρατερίων: Cf. **2601**.15 n.
- 6 καταναβαλοῦμαι: addendum lexicis.
- 7–8 *l.* ἐγγιγνόμενον.
- 12 μέχρι οδ: Cf. **2614**.5 n.
- 14 δ δη μέγισ(τον): Cf. **2622**. 24, **2630**. 16, **2631**. 19, **2643**. 28, **2644**. 14, **2661**. 35, **2663**. 11.
- 15 Following the *rho* in Καίσαρ is a horizontal smear, then what might be *epsilon* and a long diagonal stroke which one might interpret with a good deal of fantasy as Ἐπείφ.

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#### Translation

Kraterion to Athenodoros, the *dioecete*, many greetings and continual health. If all my affairs turn out well, then I will deem it .... I will not defer another ship to the intervening .... Above all things take care of yourself so that you stay healthy which is our greatest concern. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar ... 16.

### 2625 Letter

P. 25256 25 x 13 cm. Herakleopolites May 16, 15

Margins: upper 3.3, left 2 cm. *Kolleseis* 1.3 cm. from the left edge and 0.6 cm. from the right. The same hand as **2626**.

Achilles is outspoken in his complaints to Athenodoros about the latter's laziness and neglect, and he cites a number of precedents. However, he concludes his litany with a forceful *aposiopesis*. The real and most compelling reason for writing the letter – undoubtedly the most recent and gravest annoyance resulting from Athenodoros's lackadaisical attitude – is too fragmentary to attempt reconstructing.

'Αχιλλεὺς 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν διὰ παντὸς ὡς βούλομαι· ἐπεὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμελῶν τῶν φίλων οὐ διαλείπεις· μαρτυροῦσι γὰρ οἱ ἐμοὶ

- 10 ταλαβὼν ἐξεν[εγκεῖν]. ἐπὶ τῆς αὐθαδίας λ{ε}ίαν δὲ ε[ ± 6]. εἰς ἡμᾶς ταυ.[..] διαπεπραχθέν[τα ....]ε ἀφ' ὧν εχ[.].ε.. ἐν τῆι φασ[]ιππ[ ± 5].....σεαπ[....] λοφ.επα.ωμ[ ]....ε διαμε[μ]ίσ-
- 15 θωκε κ....ς ἀποχ..[ ].....σὑν τῷ[ι]
  τε[τ]ἀρτωι ἀποκαταστῆσαι Τρύφωνι τῶι
  ἀδελφῷ τὰ ἐκφόρια κατ..... μίσθωσιν· ἀνάδος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν εὔλογον ἡμᾶς ἁλίσκεσθαι ὑπό σου· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βίωι· οὐκ ἠθέλησα δὲ
- 20 .σ....τι.[.].[....]αι ίνα μὴ μέμψη εἰ

[ $\pm$  6 κοι]νωνοὺς ἐμοὶ ἔγραψας· μὴ οὖγ [ἄλλως ποιή]σης· καὶ σεα $\langle v \rangle$ τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγι-[αί]νης·

ἔρρω(σο) · (ἔτους) ιε Καί\σ/(αρος) Παχ(ὼν) κᾱ

25 vso: traces ['A]θηνοδώρφ

24 ερρ , παχ

10-11 Ι. αὐθαδείας.

17 κατὰ τὴν μίσθωσιν?

19 καὶ ταῦτ': Cf. LSJ s.v. οδτος VIII 2, on this expression.

22–23 καὶ σεα(υ)τοῦ κτλ.: It is quite obvious from this letter that this valediction is nothing more than an empty phrase, devoid of any real heartfelt concern for the recipient's well being or health. It no more committing than any of the similarly worded modern clichés such as the German "mit freundlichen Grüssen" or the English "sincerely yours" which are appended to any letter regardless of its contents. Achilleus's whole missive consists of nothing but the most vehement reproach of Athenodoros's mishandling of various situations, and it is apparent that he could not care less about Athenodoros's health. Yet decorum and tradition prevent him from concluding his blast of invective with anything else but this time-honored turn of phrase.

### Translation

Achilleus to his brother, Athenodoros, greetings and continual health, as I wish. Since you miss no opportunity to neglect your friends – my people can attest to it: they have received neither Doras's oil nor the grain; they have not yet even received those ... from a year ago .... But about these things I shall not speak! For you say (?) .... The one who got the message says he has expedited it. This is surely exceedingly stubborn behavior towards us (?) ... to deliver the rent along with the quarter (amount) to Tryphon, my brother, according to the rent contract. Send it up. For it was not right for us to have been apprehended by you. That such a thing should happen in (our) lifetime! .... Do not act contrary to this. Take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 15 of Caesar, Pachon 21. Vso: To Athenodoros.

### 2626 Letter

P. 25272 29.5 x 22 cm. Herakleopolites after 5/4

Margins: upper 1.5, left 3 cm. Kolleseis: 1.5 cm. from the right and another 16 cm. to the left of that one. The page is probably complete except for damage in the middle and maybe one or two lines at the most missing from the bottom. Verso blank.

The following five papyri, 2626–2630, and 2652 constitute the correspondence of Eurylochos with Athenodoros.

In this letter Eurylochos reports to Athenodoros on various financial matters involving money and goods. He quotes from a letter, perhaps written by Dorion, the royal scribe in the 17th year of Augustus (lines 5–21). In the succeeding lines there is mention of deliveries and payments ranging over a period of nine years, up to Augustus's 26th year (l. 34). Various officials seem to have availed themselves of public funds over the course of these nine years. Whether this dipping into the public treasury was an act of blatant and willful self-aggrandizement – fleecing the treasury in order to line their own pockets – or an act motivated by desperation (were the officials obliged to avail themselves of public funds for their own outstanding salaries?) is not clear from the context. These details and others remain frustratingly incomplete and their interpretation hopelessly obscure.

### Col. I

- 35 'Ασκληπιάδου διαλήψεται εμε.[....] Πτολεμαίωι γραμματεῖ πυρ\ο/(ῦ) Σν καὶ ἀρ(γυρίου)(δραχ.) υ, περὶ ὧν ἐκ τούτων δεήσει.
  δοθε..... ἐπισκεπ ⟨τ⟩όμενος τὸν βίον · τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος παντὸς τοῦ ἄλλου ἡγουμένου.
- Εὐρύλοχος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένῳ διευτυχεῖν· τῆ ἐνάτη ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν παρ' ἡμῶν προσκαρτερέντων 'Αφ⟨ε⟩ῦ ἀπεξέλθων ἀπελυσ.. αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν χώραν·
- 5 τῆ[ς Δωρί]ωνος ἐπιστολῆς ἐλθούσης περὶ τοῦ...[.....]ναξου ἀνέρχεσθαί σου γράψαντος ἐ(ξ)αφίνης[...]... παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐδέποτε ..εν

τοῦτον [.....]μένου μοι. πρός σεαυτόν δὲ ἐν

traces of 12 lines

] αι πρός σε ἐκ τριῶν τριωβόλου

ά[ν]αμιμνοῦντες συνέταξες .... [.......] δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος Ἡρακλεο-30 πολείτου Ἀθηνοδώρω πυροῦ ⟨ἀρτάβας⟩ φ. οἴνου ἡμικ

30 πολείτου 'Αθηνοδώρω πυροῦ ⟨ἀρτάβας⟩ φ, οἴνου ἡμικάδι\α/ ρ, ἐρίων μαλακῶν πόκοι ρ, 'Αρσινοείτου δραχ(μῶν) 'Γ. Δωρίων ὑπέγραψε. οἱ προκείμενοι οἰκονόμοι ἀνενηνόχασι ἑαυτοῖς καὶ γραμματεῦσ[ι τὰ] προκείμενα κεφάλαια ἀπὸ τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) ἕως τοῦ κς (ἔτους) [....] καὶ ἐν τῆι

#### Col. II

39 γεωμέτρη πυρ\ο/(ῦ) λ

40 ἐπισκέπτη πυρ\ο/(ῦ) Σν (γίν.) πυρ\ο/(ῦ) Σπ Δωρίωνα δεῖ δοθῆναι ....ειλ.. ἐν τῆ τοῦ γραμματέως συντάξει

45 καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων δέον ἐπισκεπε..[..]..
τούτοις καθ' ἕκαστον ὑπέγραψα σε ....
.....[

29 et passim L = (ĕτους) 31 δρα $\overline{\chi}$  36 α $\overline{\rho}$  ( $\gamma$  41 / = (γίνονται)

Εὐρύλοχος: Cf. 2626–2630, and 2652.

1–2 Typical of Eurylochos's correspondence with Athenodoros is this salutation which recurs in each and every letter sent by him. Cf. **2616**.1–2.

4 ἀπεξέλθων: Apparently a neologism.

21 [(ἔτους)] ιζ Καίσαρος Με\χ/(εὶρ) - Jan./Feb. 13 B.C.

23 λιθοκρούστου: *addendum lexicis*; "stone cutter". If this letter is to be posted publicly, as the wording in 1. 22 seems to imply, Asklepiades might be involved in making a copy of it in stone.

Ι. έγγυαλλιούσαις?

24 προστάταις: Cf. **2653**.3 n.

'Αρσινοείτου δραχ(μῶν): See on "Arsinoite drachmas" J. de Rougé, Monnaies des nomes de l'Egypte, Paris 1873.

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- 32 Δωρίων: Attested in the same office in **2595**.1,7 (15/14 B.C.), **2596** (13/12 B.C.).
- 32-33 ἀνενηνόχασι ἑαυτοῖς: The wording might imply large-scale and long-term collusion and self-aggrandizement involving a whole ring of corrupt petty government officials.
- 35 'Ασκληπιάδου: the same in 1. 22?
- 36 The same amount, 250 (artabs?) of wheat (?), appears here and in 1. 40. The abbreviation is not at all legible. Only the supralinear *omicron* is certain. For hundreds of years convenient symbols were in widespread use. It is odd that the scribe did not use a πυρός-symbol but instead wrote out most of the word.

#### Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, many greetings and continued health. Since our subordinates were waiting for Aphieus, on the ninth day having departed (I?) released them to go into the countryside. Dorion's (?) letter about the ... having arrived ... (l. 21) Take care of yourself so you stay healthy. (Farewell. Year) 17 of Caesar, Mecheir .... After you have read this letter, post it up so that ... Asklepiades, the stone cutter, ... for the present and past administrating prostatai. Please assist Ruphion in his inquiry into ... (l. 29) be given to them for the 24th year of Caesar from (the) Herakleopolite (nome): to Athenodoros 500 (artabs) of wheat, 100 hemikadia of wine, 100 fleeces of soft wool, 3,000 Arsinoite drachmas. Dorion has countersigned it. The afore-mentioned oikonomoi have paid the aforementioned sums to themselves and to scribes from the 17th year up to the 26th year .... (1. 35) to Ptolemaios, the scribe, 250 (artabs) of wheat and 400 silver drachmas, concerning which it will be necessary to have (given?) from them, having examined his life. Half of everything belongs to the other leader .... (1. 39) To the surveyor: 30 (art.) of wheat; to the epistates: 250 (art.) of wheat. Total: 280 (art.) of wheat. It is necessary that Dorion have given ... in the scribe's payment ...

### 2627 Letter

P. 25392 17.5 x 10 cm. Herakleopolites July/Aug. 2

Margins: upper 3.2, left 1.5–2.5, right 0.5, lower 2.8 cm. Eurylochos writes to Athenodoros about various shipping matters.

Εὐρύλοχος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι [διευτυ]χεῖν· ἐὰν δύνη βοηθεῖ[ν] [.....]ωρα πλοίφ παρακλη-

5 θ[εὶς] μὴ ἀποστείλη · ἐγὼ δὲ τῆι κθ ἐξαντλήσας ἔρχομαι πρός σε · ἐὰν δὲ ἡμ[ᾶς] δ]υνη εὐεργετῆσαι ἢ άλισ[ί]διον η νεώτερον [π]έμψασ10 θαί μοι· σοὶ δώσ\ω / εἰ ναυλομαι
εἰς Μέμφιν· μ[η] καταστήσει λίαν ἐπειγόμενον· ἐπιμέ\λ/(ου) δὲ σε\α/⟨υ⟩(τοῦ) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης)· ἔρ⟨ρ⟩\ω/(σο)
(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος {ς}

15 Μεσ[ορη].

vso: 'Αθη[νοδώρ]ωι τῶι φιλτά(τωι)

13 vrt

- 4 [σκιόπρ] ωα: Cf. PSI V 533.19.
- λ. άλυσίδιον.
- 10 Ι. ναυλώμαι.

11-12 l. οὐ μὴ καταστήσει (future middle) or else μὴ καταστήσης.

#### Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, greetings and continued health. If you are willing to help, do not send (awnings?) for the ship as you were requested. For I am coming to you after I have drained off (the water). If you want to do us a favor, then send me either a chain or a newer .... I will return it to you, if I can rent a ship to Memphis. You need not rush. Take care of yourself, so that you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 28 of Caesar, Mesore .... Vso: To Athenodoros, the most beloved friend.

### 2628 Letter

P. 25281 22.6 x 10.8 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 3, lower 7.5, left 2 cm. Eurylochos writes to Athenodoros about a house which has apparently been vacated.

Εὐρύλοχος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῖ φιλτάτωι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένῳ διευτύχειν· τὴν περὶ
τὴν κ[λε]ῖδα{ν} ἐπιστολὴν συνεσφράγισμαί
σοι· Σωκρά[τ]ης δὲ λέγεται εἰς καταφ...
τὸν σήμερ[ον] traces [ ]ρεξέχομαι
οὖν ἵνα {τὸ} κατὰ τὸ μὴ ὀχληθῆναι
τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσφαλίσωμαι· ὁ γὰρ α...ω

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traces καθ' ὑπερβόλην λεγε[ ].....[ ὑπολ]ελογηκέναι

10 η[ ]ι Σωκρατ[ ].
π[ ].
[ ]
[ ]
15 [ ]......δ' ἐπι(μέλου) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης)
[ ]. Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ θ̄

vso: ] 'Αθ[η]νοδωρω[ι] τῶι φιλτάτωι 16 ζη/-, νη

3 συνεσφράγισμαι: Olsson 2.3 n. discusses the practice of sealing letters.

4 Σωκρά[τ]ης: Is this the Sokrates, *stator*, attested in **2618**.11?

5 ὑπε]ρεξέχομαι?: No such verbal compound is attested. The relationship of this verb with the ensuing purpose clause is not at all clear.

15 ὑ]περῶιαν?, ]περκιαν?

#### Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, greetings and continued health. I have sealed for you the letter about the key. Sokrates is said to have ... today. I am therefore making myself conspicuous (?) so that I may lock up the house in order not to be bothered .... Vso: To Athenodoros, the most beloved friend.

## 2629 Letter

P. 25259 25.2 x 14.5 cm. Herakleopolites June 6, 4

Margins: upper 3.7, lower 1, left 2.5–3 cm. *Kollesis* almost on the right edge. The same hand as **2630**.

Eurylochos complains to Athenodoros that he has been expecting a letter about some knives, but certain people, otherwise known only to these two correspondents, have been doing their best to prevent its being written and sent, although the prefect himself has ordered it be done. Having vented his spleen on this matter, Eurylochos abruptly changes the subject and divagates for the rest of the letter about a more weighty topic: corruption among the shepherds. Horos, the head of the shepherds, who has been grilled by Eurylochos, claims it is pure extortion to expect him to pay the tax on sheep from four years ago. Eurylochos tells Atheno-

doros he is willing to go ahead and exact taxes. Since Eurylochos has already rounded up some money and shearings from the delinquent shepherd, all is not lost.

Also under fire from Eurylochos is the scribe (of the shepherds' organization?) probably for misrepresenting his group's financial status. Although the scribe is obviously guilty of falsifying the records, he nonetheless staunchly protests his innocence, claiming that a statement he made on a previous occasion has been misinterpreted and used against him. However, Eurylochos has prevailed and forced the scribe to give a truthful statement.

The matter does not end here. Alongside the corruption and mismanagement of funds, physical violence has also taken place. A certain Soterichos has been attacked. Eurylochos is going to go see him – probably to question him about the affair. He will send the man to Athenodoros along with a group of shepherds who have sworn to settle the issue correctly. The rest of the missive is obscure. Eurylochos returns briefly to the matter of the long-awaited letter about the knives as well as other letters sent to Athenodoros from abroad. In the final sentence a poet and a *strategos* are mentioned.

Εὐρύλοχος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι διευτυχεῖν· ἀνοικονομ[ή]τως ἀναστραφέντες μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐνεπόδισαν τὴν περὶ τῶν μαχαιρῶν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐπιτετα-

- 5 χότος τοῦ ἡ[γε]μόνος γράψαι πολλαῖς ὅδοις χρησάμενοι πλὴν ἐν τύπωι γέγονε· λοιπόν ἐστι χαραχθῆναι· Ὠρος νὸ προστάτης τῶν προβάτω(ν)/ τῆι τ̄ β ἄφθη μοι ἀχθὲν ὑπὸ Τηλ[.]φωνᾶτος πρός με φάσκων συκοφαντίαν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀρνῶν τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἐξ αὐτοῦ
- 10 [..].....ρ.φέναι μήτε περι.[...].. τὸ ἀργυρικόν · ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ θέλει με πρᾶξαι εἰς αὐ[τ]ὸν πρ[. ἐὰ]ν δὲ
  μὴ ἔλαβόν τι καὶ τοὺς ποκισμοὺς απακτ...()
  τῶν καὶ πάντων δὲ ἐξ α(ὐτοῦ) πόκου κολλαμοι μηδ[ε-]
  νὸς ἄλλου τοῦτο ποιοῦντος κτηνοτροόφου · ὑπ' ἐμ[ο]ῦ
- 15 οὖν ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὡς ἀδικεῖ μόγις ὁμολογεῖ γραμματέως ἀγνοηθῆναι τὸ πρότερον φάσκων μηδ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸν λόγον πλήν, ὡς ἔδει, παρρησίασσθαι ἐποίησα· εἰς αὔριον δὲ ἔχομεν πρὸς Σωτήριχ[ον] ἔλθειν ἐπεὶ βάλλεταί τινα ἐπ' αυτόν · ὡς ἂν δ[ὲ]
- 20 γενόμεθα ἐκεῖ ἀναπέμψω σοι αὐτὸν κτηνοτρόφους ληψόμενον ὀμνύοντας δικαίως κρίνειν π.[.]ασαρη. εἰ παχομερῶς ἐπιθολῶσαι θέλων ὧ διάσεισμα διδούς · ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὴ κριθείη εἰδὼς

τὴν δικαιον διάθεσιν οὐκ ὑπέχομαι · εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τ[ῶν]

- 25 τόπων πρὸς τὸν ὑπό σου προχειρισθέντα παρακριθήσεται. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγὼ παρακεκόμ[ικα·] οὐκ ἐῶμαι δοῦναι ἔως ἡ περὶ τῶν μαχαιρῶν π.[..] τὰς ἔξωθεν πε[μφ]θείσας σοι ἐπιστολὰς ε[.] φι[.]. διὰ τῆς π[...] Σελεύκου τοῦ Πτολλᾶτος [...]
- 30 κου υίοῦ διὰ τ[οῦ π]οιητοῦ καὶ ἐμὴν καὶ τῶι στρ[ατη-]
  γῶι ἃς Λαομέδων δέδωκε· ἐπιμέ(λου) σεα(υ)(του) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης)·
  ἔρρω(σο)· (ἔτους) κς Καίσαρος Παῦνι τ̄ ឝ̄

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτωι.

- 2 ἀνοικονομ[ή]τως: Although the adjective is well attested, this seems to be the first occurrence of the adverb.
- 2–3 ἀνοικονομ[ή]τως ἀναστραφέντες: This construction with an adverb + ἀναστρέφω is common in honorary decrees on stone or papyrus; cf. SIG (4th ed.) Bd. IV: Indices, s.vv. ἀναστροφή, ἀναστρέφομαι; SB V 8267.30–31: μεγαλοπόρως καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἀναστραφ(ε)ίς; OGIS I 234.16–17: καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως ... ἀνέστρεπται; Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (Bd. 16): Die Inschriften von Ephesos 2071.17–19: ἐπιδεικνύμενος ... τὴν τοῦ βίου κόσμιον ἀναστροφήν; C.B. Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period, New Haven 1934, repr. Rome 1966, 312–313; A. Deissmann, Licht vom Osten, Tübingen 1923 (4th ed.), 264–265.
- 5 The prefect is probably Gaius Tyrannius; see **2605**.1 n.
- 6 ἐν τύπωι: LSJ s.v. VIII 2 cites examples of this expression.
- 7 προστάτης τῶν προβάτω(ν): Cf. **2586**.4–5; P. Ryl. 183.1, 183a.1. *l.* ἀχθείς οτ ἀχθῆναι.
- 8 Τηλ[ε]φωνᾶτος?: Cf. Pape: Τηλεφῶν.
- 9 A substantive is missing after τήν. Normally, the tax on livestock is called φόρος. Hence, one would expect the masculine definite article. Whatever the noun in question here might have been, apparently Horos is complaining about being assessed (again?) for the sheep-tax for the 22nd year of Caesar, calling it extortion.
- 11 *l.* θέλεις?
  - $\pi\rho$  [άξω: Rather long for the lacuna.
- 12 ποκισμούς: The word also appears in PSI 233.23.
- 13 Ραρ. εξαλ: ἐξ ἄ(λλου)?, ἐξ α(ὐτοῦ)?

κολλαμοι: Either a new word or a misspelling of a known one?

- 15-16 l. γραμματεύς: Cf. P. Ryl. 183.10 n. for parallels and bibliography.
- 19 Ι. ἐπεὶ ἐπιβάλλεταί τις.

ώς ἄν: Olsson 7.13 n. cites parallels.

- 20 Ι. γενώμεθα.
  - Interesting is the implication that the shepherds are being called in to pass judgement on one of their own class. S. Allam in: Life 1–8 discusses instances of private arbitration in late Byzantine Egypt and cites relevant literature.
- 24 Ι. δικαίαν.
- 25 προχειρισθέντα: WB III, Abt. 8, lists other instances.
- 29 Σελεύκου τοῦ Πτολλᾶτος: Both Seleukos and Ptollas are common names in the Athenodoros archive, but there is no guarantee that any of them can be identified with this Seleukos or this Ptollas.

#### Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, greetings and continued health. Behaving in an unorganized manner they have until now hindered the letter about the knives. Although the prefect ordered (them) to write it, they have employed many ways; however, it was in draft. It only remains that it be written. Horos, the supervisor of the sheep, was seen by me as he was led in on the 12th by Telephonas (?), stating to me that it is extortion to demand from him the ... (tax?) on sheep for the 22nd year of Caesar ... the money-tax. But if you wish me to exact payment on him (?), I shall do it (?). If not, then I have taken (at least) something and the shearings ... while no other herder does this. Having therefore been convicted of wrongdoing by me, (the) scribe scarcely admits an oversight, claiming earlier that this was not his statement. But, since it was necessary, I have made him speak openly.

Tomorrow we have to go to Soterichos, since someone attacked him. Whenever we are there I shall send him up to you to bring shepherds who swear they will judge justly ... if I, wishing to rough (him?, them?) up, make extortion. Unless he should be convicted of knowing the proper account of things, I cannot be taken to account – unless he will be falsely judged here before the one appointed by you.

I have received the letter. I will not allow it to be given until the (letter) about the knives (arrives?) ... the letters sent you from abroad ... Seleukos, son of Ptollas, ... son, because of the poet and my (letter?) and the ones which Laomedon gave to the *strategos*. Farewell. Year 26 of Caesar, Payni 12. Vso: To Athenodoros, the most beloved friend.

### 2630 Letter

P. 16954 + 25264 22 x 13 cm. Herakleopolites Dec. 21, 10

Margins: upper: 3.5 cm., lower: 2–3, right: negligible, left: 2 cm. A vertical *kollesis* runs a few millimeters from the right edge. At line 2 and continuing through lines 3 and 4, it makes a sharp angle to the left. Large holes in the upper fragment (P. 25264: Z. 1–8) have rendered most of the context meaningless. The lower fragment (P.16954: Z. 9ff.), on the other hand, is comparatively well preserved, although it too has suffered occasional lost of text. The same scribe responsible for writing this letter also wrote **2629**. His style of writing is a peculiarly individual one, notable both for its paleographical and orthographical forms. He rarely misses an occasion to confuse *iota* with *epsilon-iota* and *vice versa*. Verso blank.

Eurylochos writes to Athenodoros about two different matters: the first has to do with 80 drachmas about which there was evidently some initial confusion – but now everything seems to have been settled. The second matter involves grain transport.

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Εὐρύλοχος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι διευτυχεῖν. τῆι τ̄γ Κόνων παρεκόμισε α̈ς ἔγραψας διδ[όναι] τῶι δούλ[ω]ι δραχμὰς ὀκτακοσίας ἕνα. [ε]ὑρέθη τοῦ δ[...]ονος παραδοκιμάζοντ[αί] μοι

5 επα[.]. χαλκο[ŷ ± 5] .ω προσθεὶς τῆι ἐχομένηι τῶι 'Ανικήτωι ἀπέδωκα Παρθενίου παρόντος πλήρεις τὰς
ὀκτακοσίας. λαλεῖται τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἕως κ̄ε̄ ἔτε-

ρος .ε.....[ ].τταται οἱ πο...φορ... γράψον  $\Delta$ [ι]ωγάτι τῶι ἀδελφῶι ἵνα ἐν γαν.χαις

- 10 ...[.....]επλοισυ (πυροῦ) ρν ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ ἐπέσταλκας αὐτοῦ (πυροῦ) 'Αυν, ἵνα σχῆς τὰς ἐν Βουσίρ⟨ε⟩ι (πυροῦ)(ἀρτάβας) ..ι, πᾶσά ἐστιν κ traces μὴ γράψης καὶ μὴ [ ± 8 ] ἀποστείλης εἰς τὸν Τρωίτην σὺ⟨ν⟩ ταῖς ἐσφραγ{ε}ισμέναι[ς] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνπόρων πλὴν 'Ι. ἔσ[τιν]
- 15 γὰρ ἐν Τανχάι μὴ δυνόμενα ἐνβληθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ νῦν.
  τὰ δ' ἄλ(λ)α σεα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἳν ὑγ{ε}ιαίνης, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι. ἔρρ(ωσο). (ἔτους) κα Καίσαρος Χοιὰ[.]κ κε

μὴ κατάσχης οὖν τὸ ἐπ $\{\epsilon\}$ ίσταλμα τῶν π $\{\epsilon\}$ ιτακ $\{\epsilon\}$ ίων ᾿Αρσιν(οειτ-).

- 1 φιλτάτφ: See Zilliacus, Anredeformen 32ff., on this form of salutation.
- 4 παραδοκιμάζοντ[αι]: addendum lexicis.
- 5 τηι έχομένηι scil. ημέρα
- 9 A possible, yet not entirely satisfactory, reading might be ἐν γαλήναις.
- 11 On wheat see: N. Jasny, The Wheats of Classical Antiquity, Baltimore 1944, 53ff.; H. Cadell, CdE 48 (1973) 329–338; Battaglia, Artos.
- 13 Τρωίτην. This toparchy (?) is otherwise known only from 1784.6 and 1807.4.
- 14 *l.* ἐμπόρων.
  - 'I: The papyrus shows a vertical stroke crossed by a horizontal stroke near the top.
- 15 Τανχάι: A village in the Herakleopolites (cf. **1778**, et passim; **2438**.71; Sijpesteijn, CdE 56 [1981] 103; Falivene 204).
- 16 l. ἐμβληθῆναι: Cf. A. Meyer-Termeer, Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht, Zutphen 1978, 77.
   l. δυνάμενα.
- 17 Pap. ερρ-
- 18 I. πιττακίων: Given the multifarious meanings of the word, it is difficult to decide which one is applicable here. Cf. T. Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 211. In oracle questions: P. Oxy. 1150 = PGM 8b.

#### Translation

Eurylochos to his very dear Athenodoros, greetings and continued prosperity! Konon received a letter on the 13th where you write that he should give the slave eighty drachmas .... (l. 5f.) The next day in the presence of Parthenion I gave Aniketos the eighty drachmas *in toto*. It is said that by the 25th the trip up ... (l. 9f.)

Write to Diogas (our) brother (= colleague), so he can peacefully (?) ... 150 artabs of wheat, since you have sent his 1,450 (artabs) of wheat, so that you have in Busiris ... artabs of wheat. That makes altogether ... you send to Troites together with the (artabs?) sealed by the merchants except for the 10,000 (artabs?). For the ones in Tanchais have not been able to be loaded up until now. Moreover, be careful to take care of yourself so that you stay in good health which I consider of utmost importance. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Choiak 25.

You should not impede the order for the pittakia to Arsinoe.

### 2631 Letter

P.16898 + 25265 21.5 x 10.5 cm Herakleopolites March 2, 9

Margins: upper: 2.5 cm., lower: 1.5, left: 1 cm., right: negligible. Apart from an occasional hole and a few places where the writing has rubbed off, both fragments are in good condition. The script is the same as on **2628**, **2657** and others. P. Berol. inv. 16898 = lines 1–6, 22; 25265 = lines 7–21.

Pappos writes concerning various matters, official and private, to Athenodoros. Most intriguing in this letter is the mention of the arrival of a certain Gallus, possibly the prefect of Egypt (who was heretofore unknown) at Memphis, probably during his annual inspection tour of Egypt, the *conventus*.

Πάππος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι θε⟨ι⟩οτάτῷ διοικητῆι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς διευτυχεῖν ἄριστ' ἐπανάγειν. ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ παραποδ{ε}ίσθην εἰς Μέμφιν γενέσθαι χάριν

- 10 [έ]ξ· 'Ασκλάπων δέ μοι συμβούλευσε ευκλ... συνήγορον παραστήσαι· ἄτερ οὖν τῆς σ[ο] υ γνωμῆς οὐκ ἐβουλήθην δαπανασθαι· διὸ ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, σήμανον. πέπομφα{ι} δέ σοι τὴν καταγραφήν τοῦ
- έν άλυ χωρίου καὶ τὸν τοῦ βασιλι\κ/(οῦ) γραμμ\ατέ(ως)/σχοινισμ[ό]ν ἐπιχρονίζω ἐκτὸς τῶν
   [χρό]νων. ἐάν σοι φαίνηται δι' ἡμερῶν
   .λ[.]τος πέμπψον ὀψαρίδια. τὰ δ' ἄλ(λ)α ἐ⟨πιμέ⟩λου

[σε]α[υ]τοῦ ιν' ὑγιαίνης, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον

20 [ηγοῦ]μ(αι). ἔρρωσο

(ἔτους) κα Καίσαρ[ο]ς Φαμεν( $\grave{\omega}\theta$ ) ς

vso: 'Αθ]ηνοδώρωι τῶι διοικητῆι

- 1 θε(ι)οτάτω: Cf. **2600.**3 n., **2660**.1.
- 3 Cf. 2614.3 n.
- 4-5 The requisitioning of clothes in preparation for the arrival of a personage with a Latin name apparently at Memphis has all the earmarks of a prefectural visit, perhaps on the occasion of the *conventus*. Is this Gallus perhaps the prefect? Between the offices of P. Rubrius Barbarus and C. Tyrannius that is between 12 and 7 B.C. no prefect has yet been attested (see G. Bastianini, ZPE 17 [1975] 268). The date of this letter in March which falls directly in the time span allotted for the prefectural visit at Memphis increases the likelihood that this Gallus was conducting his annual inspection tour of middle Egypt, for which the clothes mentioned in this letter had been requisitioned. For literature on the *conventus* see N. Lewis, BASP 19 (1981) 119.
- 5 παράστασιν: Cf. P. Oxy. 2139.2 n., where this word appears in the papyri for the first time in a similar context.
- 8 *l.* ἀνάγκασον.
- 11 ἄτερ: Cf. B. McGing, P. Dublin, p. 92.
- 13 σήμανον: Parallels are cited in Olsson, 8.20f. and P. Merton II 62.10–12 n.
- 15 *l.* ἐν ἀλί. Cf. D. Bonneau, "La terre saline (*halmyris*) en Egypte d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque", in: Congr. 19.
- 15 Ραρ. γραμμ\ατε-/
- 19 ο δη μέγιστον: Cf. **2622**.24 n.
- 20, 21 The abbreviations in these lines are too faint and vague to be reproduced with any fidelity.

#### Translation

Pappos to Athenodoros the most divine *dioecete*, many greetings and continual health and prosperity. Since I have been hindered from coming to Memphis for the clothes for Gallus's advent, I have sent Asklapon so that ... he comes up. If it please you, make him set out immediately so that I myself may not be impeded. I am receiving from him six (*himatia*). Asklapon has advised me that ... lawyer is arriving. Therefore I did not want to incur any expenses without your knowledge. If it please you, tell (me what to do). I have sent you the register of the land damaged by salt and the royal scribe's survey report. I am holding out (?) beyond the time limits (?). If it please you, after several days ... send pickled fish. Otherwise, take care of yourself so that you stay healthy which is my greatest concern. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Phamenoth 6. Vso: To Athenodoros, the *dioecete*.

### 2632 Letter

P. 25270 20.5 x 11.5 cm. Herakleopolites after 8/7

Margins: upper: 4, left 1.5, right: negligible. *Kollesis* 3.5 cm. from the left. Unusual in this letter is the absence of *scriptura continua* and the generally correct separation of the individual words.

Aphrodisios writes Athenodoros about various activities involving wine production. For the different jars and measures mentioned in this letter see R. Fleischer, Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt, Diss. New York 1956.

'Αφροδίσιος 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῷ διοικητῆι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ [πα] ντὸς τυγχάνειν τῶν κατὰ προαίρεσιν αυτῶν ἐπεὶ πολὺς οἶνος ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγ[ομέ]ναις

- 5 τοῦ κγ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος εἰς Τεχθὼ ἐνήνεκται καὶ τὸ παρ' ἐμοῖ κείμενον
  τῆς ῥύσεως τοῦ χωρίου ἀγγ⟨ε⟩ῖον
  .[..]μωι 'Αρσινο{ε}ιτικῶι κεράμια
  καὶ κόρι ρξβ, οὖ προκεχώ[ρη-]
- 10 [.....].ογις εἴ τις τοῖς ἐργάταις
  [....] ἐμοῖ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἄ ἐστιν
  [κερ]αμ\ω/ μ· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
  [ ].[.].εύοντος

vso: Αμμ...

oı.

μαφα[

- 2-3 τυγχάνειν τῶν κατὰ προαίρεσιν αυτῶν: This unusual salutation seems to have no parallel in either the Athenodoros archive or the other epistolary papyri.
- 5 Τεγθώ: Cf. **2434**.13, **2440**.38; J. Kaimio, P. Hels. I 26 introd.
- 9 κόρι: A unit of measure called the κόρος is attested in PSI VI 554.14 (3rd c. B.C.). In Byzantine papyri a common unit of measure is the κοῦρι (cf. CPR X = Griech. Texte VII 11.3 n.).
- 12 *l*. [κερ]άμια.

### Translation

Aphrodisios to Athenodoros the *dioecete*, many greetings and the continued fulfilment of your wishes. Since much wine was brought to Techtho in the intercalary days of Caesar's 23rd year and the jar at my place containing the harvest of the estate ... in Arsinoite ... 162 *keramia* and *kori*. ... if there is something for the workers ... for me and the children, all told 40 *keramia*. Until now ....

### 2633 Letter

P. 25268 12.8 x 14.5 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper: 2.4, left 4. *Kollesis* 1 cm. from the left. The import of this letter from Euomenos and Dionysios to Athenodoros is obscure given the loss of text from the right and bottom. At least part of the letter would seem to relate to problems with the irrigation.

Εὐόμενος καὶ Διονύσιος 'Αθηνοδώ[ρωι]
τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ ὑ[γι(αίνειν)·]
ὑπὲρ ὧν σοι ἐπεγράψαμεν εἰς τὰ [νῦν]
ἡ μερὶ⟨ς ⟩ τῶν παιδίων Διονυσίου [....]

5 μετελάβομεν δὲ μεμετεωρισ[μένας]
ῥοάς· εἰ οὖν ἔστιν σοι ἀβαρὲς πο[ιῆ-]
σαι αὐτά, καὶ ἐᾶν κορμοὺ[ς ..]
μονος ἡμᾶς κατειληφέν[αι· εὖ]
οὖν ποιήσης, διοικητά, μ[ ]

10 [ ] traces [ ]

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδείλ/(φῷ)

- 1 Εὐόμενος: addendum onomasticis; cf. 2634.10
- 5-6 The interpretation of this sentence is problematic. The first two letters in l. 6 are not at all certain, but *rho-omicron* makes at least some sense whereas *rho-alpha* makes none whatsoever.
- 7-8 ]μένος? A proper name or noun seems more likely than a participle given the size of the lacuna in the previous line.
- 6 ἀβαρές: Cf. Olsson 41.26 n., "gewöhnliche Höflichkeitsphrase", citing parallels.

#### Translation

Euomenos and Dionysios to Athenodoros, their brother, greetings and (good health). Concerning those things which we wrote you, for the (present), some of Dionysios's slaves .... For we have heard that streams have risen (?). If it is no trouble for you to do these things, let us take -mon's sluices. You would therefore do well, *dioecete*, to .... Vso: To Athenodoros, (our) brother.

### 2634 Letter

P. 25269 25 x 9 cm.

Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 3.5, lower 5, right: variable. Written in the same hand as many others in Athenodoros's archive; cf. **2605** introd. Verso blank.

This papyrus leaf appears to contain copies of, or sketches for, two letters: the first addressed to Seleukos, who is known from other letters in the Athenodoros archive; the second to Euomenos and Dionysios, who are known from 2633. Both letters describe shipments of various comestibles. The letter writer seems to have been concerned about keeping an exact record of the goods shipped – or at least the goods allegedly shipped – to his correspondents.

Σελεύκωι [μίαν ἐγ μιᾶς ἡμέρας προσδεχό-] [μενός σε] πέπομφά σοι δι' Έρμᾶτος λευκομετώπους \γεράνους/ πεντήκοντα,

- μετώπους \γεράνους/ πεντήκοντα, ἀβρ(αμίδες) δέκα
   [.].κιδων κεράμ[ια] πέντε κορακίν\ου/
  ηωνηρους...εφε......
   κοντα καὶ μ..νεια πεντήκοντα
   ὀρνίθ{ε}ια διακόσια.
- 10 [Εὐο]μένφ καὶ Διονυσίωι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς·
  [.. πέ]πομφα δι' Ἑρμᾶτος τοὺς Φιλέρωτος
  [...ο]υς πόκους πεντήκοντα [ ]
  [....]ους πεντήκοντα καὶ ...[ ]
  [.....] εἴκοσι, πάντες δὲ καλούς.
- [ ] εν οὖν ἤθελον ἔτι τριάκοντα
  [ δ] ιασαφιναι ἐπὶ τῶν προβάτων
  [ ] ἀσθενεῖν τὰ θρέμματα ἵν'
  [..... κ]ατὰ τὴν δύν[αμι]ν τὰ ἐρε[ίδια]
  [ ]...ηδυμωνο[.].τυχια κείρας.

5 αβρ/, 6 -κιν

- 1 Σελεύκωι: Undoubtedly the same Seleukos as in **2612** f.
- 2 *l*. ἐκ.
- 4, 11 Cf. 2622.4,17 n.
- 4-5 λευκομετώπους γεράνους: According to LSJ γέρανος can designate either a bird or a fish. For cranes in Egypt as comestibles see P.F. Houlihan, The Birds of Ancient Egypt, Warminster 1986, 83ff. The photo there of a demoiselle crane in an ancient Egyptian relief would appear to have inspired the description "white-faced". However, the ornithologically more well-versed reader may prefer another identification unknown to me.

- 5 ἀβρ(αμίδες): According to LSJ s.v. this word appears in two London papyri and means "mullet". See D.J. Brewer and R. F. Friedman, Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt, Warminster 1989. Cf. P. Oxy. 2660, 2660a, for names of fishes in Greco-Roman Egypt; and G. Parássoglou, Aegyptus 67 (1987) 89ff.; P. Sijpesteijn, K. Worp, P. Pheretnuis, p. 69, on fisheries.
- 6 [πε]ρκίδων?, [τ]οκίδων? However, the traces on the papyrus are congruent with neither *rho* nor *omicron*.
- 8 μηκώνεια? The sole papyrological attestations for this word, if it is correctly read here, were heretofore in the medical texts. Cf. Marganne 234, 319; Steier, "Mohn", RE 15,2, 2433–2445; V. Gazza, Aegyptus 36 (1956) 89; C. Préaux, CdE 31 (1956) 141.l, for examples of opium in medical prescriptions. On opium: J. Scarborough, Jnl. of the History of Biology 11 (1978) 371–372; H. Harrauer and P. Sijpesteijn, Medizinische Texte und Verwandtes (MPER n.S. XIII), Vienna 1981, no. 1.9 n., citing J. André, Lexique des termes de botanique en latin, Paris 1956, 228; Till, no. 106; H. Harrauer, K.A. Worp, ZPE 40 (1980) 139ff. On opium see J. Scarborough in: R. Porter, M. Teich, edd., Drugs and Narcotics in History, Cambridge 1994. Opium derivates are common in Coptic prescriptions for eye ailments (Chassinat 74f.) and still used in present-day pharmaceutical products (Pharmazeutische Stoffliste-List of Pharmaceutical Substances [7.Aufl.], Frankfurt am Main 1988.).

On the problem of identifying ancient plants with their modern counterparts see J. Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs and Roots", in: C. Faraone and D. Obbink, edd., Magika Hiera, Oxford 1990, 163–164, who cautions against citing the all-too-often facile and false designations in LSJ. He strongly advises using instead the Oxford Latin Dictionary; J. André, Les noms des plantes dans la Rome antique, Paris 1985; A. Carnoy, Dictionnaire étymologique des noms grecs de plantes, Louvain 1959 and R. Strömberg, Griechische Pflanzennamen, Göteborg 1940.

In general on medicinal plants in the ancient world see: J. André, Notes de lexicographie botanique grecque, Paris 1958; H. Baumann, Die griechische Pflanzenwelt in Mythos, Kunst und Literatur, Munich 1982; J. Berendes, Die Pharmacie bei den alten Culturvölkern, Halle (Saale) 1891, repr. Hildesheim 1965; Dietrich, Drogenhandel; V. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa, 8. Aufl., Berlin 1911; B. Langkavel, Botanik der späteren Griechen vom dritten bis dreizehnten Jahrhundert, Berlin 1966, repr. Amsterdam 1966; L. Manniche, An Ancient Egyptian Herbal, London 1989; A. Schmidt, Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum, Leipzig 1924, Neudr. New York 1979; Till; E.G. Wheelwright, Medicinal Plants and their History, New York 1974 (2nd ed.); F. Woenig, Die Pflanzen im alten Ägypten, Leipzig 1897.

- 10 [Εὐο]μένω: Cf. **2633**.1.
- 11 Φιλέρωτος: Cf. **2661**.8, where the same name appears.
- 13 τέσ[σαρες]?
- 14 *l.* πάντας.
- 16 Ι. δι ασαφήναι.
- 18 *l.* ἐρίδια.
- 19 τῆ (Δι)δύμωνο[ς] ἡσυχία κείρας?

#### Translation

To Seleukos. I have sent you through Hermas fifty white-faced cranes, ten mullets, five *keramia* of ..., ... black ..., fifty poppies (?), two hundred chickens.

To Euomenos and Dionysios, my brothers. I have sent through Hermas, Phileros's ... the ... fifty fleeces and fifty other ... fleeces and twenty ..., all good ....

### 2635 Letter

P. 25396 18 x 14.5 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 4, right 1.5–2, left 2 cm. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the right. Verso blank. Ischyras reports to Athenodoros about deliveries of wool and oil.

'Ισχυρᾶς 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφ(ῶι)
[χαί]ρ[ειν] καὶ ὑγιαίνειν διὰ παντὸς ὡς
βούλομα[ι]· ἀνέγνων ὰ ἐγεγράφει σε
[ ].ουσ.[ ]ανου εἰς τὰ ἐγβαί-

- 5 [νοντα ]... διπλασ{ε}ίων ἔ-[χο]μαι ἐν τοῖς κατά σε· Φιλικὼς δὲ μελ[ήσε]ται λ{ε}ίαν τῶι τοὺς παρ' ἐμοῦ γεγραφηκέναι μὴ κεκόμισθαι τὰ ἔρια, μηδὲ τὸ ἔλαιό\ν/ σου συντάγη
- 10 [ἕ]ως Παχὼν καὶ Παῦνι· [προ] πρὸ δὲ [π]άντων τοῦ σώμα[τος σεαυτοῦ ἐπι-] [μέλου ἵνα κτλ.

# 1 αδελφ

- 1 'Ισχυρᾶς: Cf. **2661**.3
- 4 Ι. ἐκβαί-
- 6 Ι. Φιλικῶτι?

#### Translation

Ischyras to Athenodoros, his brother, greetings and continual health, because I wish it. I have read what he wrote ... Philikos will be very concerned about my agents' having written that they have received neither the wool nor your oil. Demand it by Pachon or Payni! Above all (take care) of your body (so you stay well) ....

### 2636 Letter

P. 25243 21 x 10.5 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 2.7, lower 4.4, left 1.5 cm. Verso blank. The same script as on **2605** and many others; see **2605** introd.

Someone writes to Ischyrion reporting that Ischyrion's messenger had looked him up in Herakleopolis and given him a letter. In the letter Ischyrion had requested him to send one of his people who should repay Ischyrion what the anonymous let-

# 2637 Letter

P. 25262 25.5 x 19.8 cm. Herakleopolites 3/2

Margins: left 3.5, upper 4.3, right 1.5–2, lower 4.5 cm. *Kollesis* 10 cm. from the left. Sarapion writes to Athenodoros, the *epistates*. Because of the papyrus's poor condition little can be gleaned from the few coherent words.

Σαραπίων 'Αθηνοδώρ[ωι] πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν · ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην Στράβωνος ἀφικνουμένου πρός σε .ε[..] ἀσπάσασθαί σε καὶ παρακαλέσαι ἐπιμελῆσθαι τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν

- πρὸ παντός: [..] προσδια[σ]αφῆσαι δέ σοι κα[ί]
  δεῖν ἐνόμισα [..]..ωσασ[.]σέγραψεν ...[.]
  πρὸς τῶι χειρουργει.....[....]...[ ]
  ον ῥωσθήσεσθαι τη....[...]σμε[...] ἴσθι δέ μ[ε]
  καὶ τούτου φροντίζοις [..] ὡς εἴ τι καινὸν γένοιτ[ο]
- 10 μὴ παραλιποῦντά σοι τὸ δηλοῦ[v·] περὶ δὲ τῷ[v] ἐρ{ε}ιδίων σπε[.. σπού]δασον \μοι/ πέμψαι ἴν ᾽ ὧι κεχαρισμ[ένος ] τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος [ ]... Ē

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶ ἐπιστάτηι

- 2 ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην: Cf. 2619. 4–5 n. Στράβωνος: Cf. 2604.1.
- 4–5 ὑγιαίνειν πρὸ παντός: H.C. Youtie, ZPE 34 (1979) 86, notes the relative scarcity of this formula in salutations, e.g. 38.3. More normal is διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν (cf. Exler 32 f.).
- 8–10 The main sentence is ἴσθι δέ  $\mu[\epsilon]$   $\mu \dot{\eta}$  l. παραλιπόντα σοι κτλ. Inserted into the middle of this as a parenthesis is καὶ τούτου φροντίζοις [..] ὡς εἴ τι καινὸν γένοιτ[ο].
- 0 σπε: a number? 285 balls of wool?
- 12 κεχαρισμ[ένος: Cf. Olsson 8.20 = P. Oxy. VII 1061; P. Tebt. I 56.16; **2599**.22; Mayser II,1, p. 225; P. Erasmus 6.12. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔρρωσο: This extremely truncated valediction is unusual in the Athenodoros archive.

### Translation

Sarapion to Athenodoros, many greetings and health. Since Strabon was on his way to you I considered it necessary to greet you and above all ask you to watch out for your health. I furthermore considered it necessary to inform you ... Know that I – and think about this in case something new should happen – was not negligent in informing you. About the 285 (?) balls of wool: hurry up and send them to me so that I may be pleased. Otherwise, farewell. Year 28 of Caesar .... Vso: To Athenodoros, the *epistates*.

ter writer owes him. The anonymous letter writer does this, although he claims he owes Ischyrion nothing. He closes by asking Ischyrion to send the man back to him posthaste because it is the harvest season, and he needs every person he can get. Given the lack of a concluding salutation and a date – as well as the various obliterations and corrections – this letter is obviously a draft and not the final copy.

Ἰσχυρίωνι τῶι φιλτάτῳ [.....] χαίρ[ειν καὶ] διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν· γενόμενος ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει \τῆ ζ/ ἐδεξάμην περά τινος τῶν σῶν [επιστ] παρά σου ἐπιστολὴν [ἐν ἡ]

- 5 ἐσήμαινες πέμψαι τινὰ τῶν ἐμῶν, ὃς ἐπιγν\ώσεται τὸ/ [ους το] ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐκτιθέμενον κεφά{λ}λαιον· εὐθέως οὖν Διογένην τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον ἔπεμψα \πρός σε/· σύνοιδα δὲ ἐμα⟨υ⟩τῷ καλῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Αφροδιτοπολίτου [...]
- 10 ...[.]...ς ἀπούσης ὀφείλω οὐδὲ ἕν·σὰ δὲ φίλτατε ἐρωτηθεὶς γράφε ἡμεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν αἱρῆις παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐσομένου· ὀρθῶς δὲ χρήση τὸν Διογέν\η/(ν) μοι ταχύτερον ἀπολύσας· [δια το] προσδέομα[ι]
- 15 [.][....] \γὰρ/ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα διὰ τὸν τῆς [συγ]κομιδῆς τῶν γενημάτων καιρόν · [...]νως οὖν ἐπί[τασ]στειλε ἵνα κ'αὐτὸ[ς] [δύ]νωμαι γράφειν [ὑμεῖν].
- l. παρά.
- 10 οὐδὲ ἕν: Cf. **1078** = Olsson no. 29 = Wilcken, Chrest. I 59: μηδὲ ἕν; P. Oxy. XIV 1668.19: οὐδὲ εἷς; Blass-Debrunner §302.
- 11–12 Cf. P. Oxy. IV 787 = Olsson no. 16: [σ]ὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν αἰρῆ γράφε; P. Merton II 62.11 and Olsson 8.20ff. n., where other parallels are listed.
- 12 *l.* ἄν.
- 13-14 Cf. P. Oxy. 3505. 17-18: εὐθέως δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν Δίδυμον ἀπόλυσον.

#### Translation

Ischyrion to his best friend, greetings and continual health. While I was in Herak-leopolis on the 6th I received from one of your people the letter (in which) you informed me that I should send one of my men who would acknowledge the sum of money granted to me. I have therefore sent quickly to you my friend Diogenes. I am quite aware that in the Aphroditopolite (nome) ... being absent, I owe nothing at all. Since you have been asked, my friend, write us about whatever you want, and everything will be for the good. You will do well to release Diogenes to me quickly. I need him here, because it is the season for bringing in the harvest ... therefore send him, so I myself can write.

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### 2638 Letter

P. 25248 16 x 8.8 cm.

Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 4.3, lower 7.3, left 2, right 0.5 cm. *Kollesis* 2 cm. from the left. Verso blank.

The purport of this brief message to an unnamed *dioecete*, written with neither sender nor addressee, will have to remain obscure. Wasting no excess verbiage, the writer demands the return of an unspecified object which he had evidently placed at the disposal of someone (the *dioecete*?) the year before.

τῶι σεμνοτάτωι διοικ\η/(τῆι)· ἐὰν φαίνηται συντάξεις δοθῆναί μοι τὸ καὶ πέρυσι δεδομένον.

1 σεμνοτάτωι: Cf. 2600.3 n.

#### Translation

To the most respected *dioecete*. If it please you, give an order that (the thing) I gave last year be returned to me.

### 2639 Letter

P. 25397 18.2 x 13.5 cm. Herakleopolites 10/9

Margins: right  $\pm$  1, left 1.5, lower 3 cm. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the left and  $\pm$  1 from the right.

Someone informs Athenodoros that in addition to two men remiss in paying their grain-taxes he has arrested the village scribe as well. The writer requests that Athenodoros send him two police to bring the miscreants to Athenodoros for justice. A number of problems arise in connection with the interpretation of this letter's contents. However, there is little likelihood that they will ever be clarified. The writer mentions "old accounts" (l. 5). One would like to know more exactly how old they are. In other words, what was the period of grace enjoyed by tax delinquents at this time and place? Why was the village scribe arrested? Was he suspected of collusion with the two criminals, or was his detention a routine affair until the matter could be cleared up? Since one of his responsibilities was keeping proper tax accounts on the amount of taxes collected and still outstanding, it would have been a rather easy matter to determine if he had done his job conscientiously or if he had falsified the records.

[ 'Αθηνδώρωι ]
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν · Φίλιππον 'Εκκράτου παραγραφόμενον ἐν τῷ λογιστηρίῳ ἐκ τοῦ
ἄρχαίου λόγου πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) ζ καὶ Διονῦν
Πρωτάρχου πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) κα καὶ τὸ[ν]
κωμογραμματέα τοῦ ἔτους σεσυνψάφηκα καὶ ἔχω αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ φυλακῆ ·
ἐὰν οὖν σοι φαίνηται πέμψον μοι μα10 χαιροφόρους δύο, ἵνα σοι [α]ὐτοὺς ἐξαποσ-

10 χαιροφορους συο, ινα σοι [α]υτους εςαποσ-[τείλω· ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἵν'] ὑγιαίνῃς. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κα Καί[σαρος ]ι κ̄ε̄

vso: τῷ διοικητῆι 8 cm. 'Αθην[δώρωι]

5,6 0

- 7 κωμογραμματέα τοῦ ἔτους: This is not to say that the village scribe at this time served only one year in office. Rather interpret: the village scribe in office and responsible for keeping record of the finances for that particular year. Cf. N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt, Florence 1982, 37; H.C. Youtie, ZPE 24 (1977) 139.
- 7-8 *l.* σεσυμψάφηκα: See **2645**.8 n.
- 9-10 μαχαιροφόρους: See **2428**.18 n.; K. Worp, Einige Wiener Papyri, Amsterdam 1972, 123-124; J.-J. Aubert, BASP 24 (1987) 127-131.
- 10 See U. Hagedorn, "Das Formular der Überbestellungsbefehle im römischen Ägypten", BASP 16 (1979) 61–79.

#### Translation

(N.N. to Athenodoros, greetings and above all good health). I have rounded up Philippos, son of Ekkrates, registered in the tax-office in the old record book as being remiss in his taxes to the amount of 7 artabs of wheat and Dionys, son of Protarchos, for 21 artabs of wheat – and the village scribe for the year as well – and I am holding them in prison. If it please you, send me two police so I can hand them over to you. (Take care of yourself so that) you stay well. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, month) 25. Vso: To the *dioecete*, Athenodoros.

### 2640 Letter

P. 25266 18.5 x 11 cm. Herakleopolites August 9, 10

Margins: upper 5, lower 1.5, left 2, right 1–2 cm. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the right. Athenodoros complains to Theophilos about outrageous behavior on the part of a tax collector.

'Αθηνόδωρος Θεοφίλωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίν⟨ε⟩ιν· ὁ τῆς Πεενσαμοὶ λογευτὴς αἰτῶν Πετεσοῦχον τῶν

- 5 ἡ[μετέρ]ων γεωργῶν εἰς λόγον το[ῦ ...]ικοῦ πυροῦ μίαν ...[...] μεγαλῶς ἐξύβρισεν · διὸ [ε]ἦ π[ο]ιήσεις διαλαβὼν πα[.... λ]ικμὸν αὐτ..[..]..φεως.
- 10  $\sim$  ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους) κ K[αί]σ(αρος) Μεσ\ο/(ρὴ) ιξ

vso: τῶ[ι ἀδελφῶι] 3.5 cm. Θεοφίλωι

10 κ[αι]ς

- 3 Πεενσαμοί: Cf. 2616.3 n. λογευτής: Cf. 1590; P. Fay. Ostr. 12, P. Fay. 244; G. Harper, Aegyptus 14 (1934) 49–64.
- 8 [ε] $\mathring{v}$  π[ο]ιήσεις διαλαβών: Cf. Döllstädt, p. 6.

9 [π]έμψεις?

#### Translation

Athenodoros to his brother, Theophilos, greetings and good health! The tax collector from Peensamoi has called one of our farmers, Petesuchos, to account for the ... grain ... and has treated him very insolently. You will, therefore, do well to investigate ... and send him a winnowing shovel (?). Farewell. Year 20 of Caesar, Mesore 16. Vso: To my brother, Theophilos.

### 2641 Letter

P. 25274 21 x 9 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 7, left 1.5. Verso blank. For the handwriting cf. 2605 introd. Athenodoros writes to Skolops presenting him with a register of ten farmers from vari-

ous villages in the Herakleopolite nome who probably owe money.

7 ← 8 καισ 12 τρικ

- 1 Σκόλοπι: Cf. **2643**.7 n.
- 11 Τανχά(εως): Cf. BGU VIII passim, 2438.71 n.; P.J. Sijpesteijn, CdE 56 (1981) 103.
- 12 Τρικ(ωμίας): Cf. 1808.8; Calderini, Dizionario, s.v.

### 2642 Letter

P. 25394

14.3 x 11 cm.

Herakleopolites

Margins: left 1.2 cm. Verso blank. On the handwriting cf. 2605 introd.

'Αθηνόδωρ[ος] .[....]φ[ ]
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
ἐρρωμένῳ ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν ὡς βούλο\μ/(αι) ·
συγγνωμονῆς εἰς τό με μὴ πυκνότερά

- 5 σοι γεγραφ[ε]\ηκέ/ναι, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς τῆς κατασπορᾶς καὶ τοῦ λιμνασμοῦ ἐμετε(ώ)ριζε με· δοκεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἔγραψάς μοι τό πως σοι ἄπαντα ἔχ.[±8] μὴ πεπολυπρα- γμονήκης.[]ησας ώς σοι
- 10 .....ταω..[ ]ε μεγαλῶς [με] ἐχάρην

traces [ ] ἐθελόντων καὶ
traces [ ]πας ἔσομαι
traces [ ]εχ[.]ι· καὶ διὰ παντ[ὸς ὑ]γιαίνειν [ ]...... πρὸς
15 traces [ ]τος δὲ ε.....υτει\χ/()
σοι γράφειν ἐπ[ὶ τ]οῦ παρόντος · τὰ δ' ἄλλα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵνα ὑγιαίνης.

### 4 *l.* συγγνωμονῆς.

### Translation

Athenodoros to N.N., many greetings, continual health and prosperity, because I wish it. Excuse me for not writing you more often. The season for the sowing and the watering has kept me "up in the air". However, it seems, if you did not write me how things are with you ..., (l. 16), to write you at present. Otherwise, take care of yourself, so you stay healthy ....

### 2643 Letter

P. 25395 33 x 15 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 4.5, left 2 cm. *Kollesis* 6 cm. from the left. The same script as **2622**, **2644**.

Someone writes to Athenodoros first reporting on official matters in Busiris. He abruptly turns to agricultural and private matters which take up the rest of the letter.

[ ± 10 'Αθηνοδώρωι τ]ῷ ἀδελφῷ πλεῖστα [χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγια]ίνειν ὡς εὕχομαι·
[ ]...[.]..ει συντελέσαι [ ] traces αι ὡς μὴ δυνα5 [ ].λη... δὶς γεγράφηκα κ' ἔστιν .....[ ]... ησωμ..[ ] πρὸ Σκόλοπος μέλλομεν ὑστερησ traces τὸν προστάτην εἶναι·
οὐκ εἴδην [ὅτι .]μαρκης ἐστιν τόπου ὥστε ἐμὲ
10 μένειν ἐν Βουσίρ⟨ε⟩ι ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ μὴ καταλογήν μου ποιεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ ἀπορίψαι μοι τὸ ἐπίσταλμα .[....].δε μοι δεδωκέναι πλου τραψεσ[....].φεν. πέπομφα δέ σοι αὐτὸ

τὸ ἐπίσταλμα [τὸ] συ⟨ν⟩ηλιγμένον τῆ ἐπιστολῆ—

15 ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ νῦν παρητημένοι {σι} τὸν στρατηγὸν οἱ ὀφείλοντες τὰς μετεπιγραφὰς τὰ⟨ς⟩ ἔως τῆς ī

τοῦ Μεχείρ· εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις ἐκ παντὸς

[τ]ρ[ό]π[ο]υ [.....]. ήσαντος ἐ..δοῦναι Πετοβάσθι

τῶ ἀποδιδοῦντί σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἵνα μὴ

20 εγδοντον τῶν δέκα ἀρουρῶν [γέ]νηται ἡ φυτεία·
 ἐπ(ε)ὶ Σκόλοψ οὐκ ε(ἴ)ακεν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ χεῖρα{ν} ἐργά ζεσθαι ἡ πεφλεγμένη ἡμῶν τῶν ἔργων—— [ κε]χώρισται τοῦ βοθυνισμοῦ· καὶ ἐπισ [ ]..οτροπίων ἀγορασμός· καὶ περὶ τῶ\ν/

25 σχοινίων μελησάτω σοι καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου ἐὰν ἢ ἑτοῖμοι· ἐὰν δὲ μή, ἄλλα τρία σκαφῆα ἡμεῖν εὐπόρησον· τὰ δ' ἄλλα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέ[(λου) ἵν'] ὑγι(αίνης) ὃ δὴ μέγι(στον) ἡγοῦμα[ι]· ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρος [..].\/() ιδ

loose fragment: νῦν ἐστ[ι

24 rw 27 vyt 28 meyt

On the vso. next to the lower edge in small letters: τῷ ἀδε $\lambda/(\phi \tilde{\phi})$  10 cm. to the right of that in large letters: ' $A\theta$ ηνοδώρωι

- 7 Σκόλοπος: *addendum onomasticis*; cf. l. 21 and **2641**.1. Given its adjectival character, Skolops is likely to have been the name of either a slave or freedman. Cf. **2618**.22–23, for bibliography on the nomenclature of slaves.
- εἴδην: Gignac, Morphology 411, cites P. Oxy. 2339.17.
- 14 Olsson no. 2.3n. discusses sending letters or other documents in combination with each other.
- 15-16 οἱ ὀφείλοντες: Probably those unable to pay their taxes had been requested by the strategos to relinquish their land; cf. W. Kunkel, "Über die Veräusserung von Katökenland", ZSS. RA 48 (1928) 285f. They seem to have had time up to Mecheir, that is the middle of the Egyptian calendar, to make their intentions known to the officials
- 17 τοῦ Μεχείρ: Cf. **2606**.4–7, **2608**.5 and **2610**.5 for other examples of month or village names with the definite article. ἐκ corrected from ἐγ.
- 18 Πετοβάσθι = **2596**.6?
- 20 ελαοντον?, ελλοντον? Cf. CRIPEL 16 (1994) 87-89.
- 22 ἡ πεφλεγμένη τῶν ἡμῶν ἔργων: The intent of this line remains obscure. Evidently something has burnt up.
- 23 βοθυνισμοῦ: addendum lexicis.
- l. ὦσι οτ εἶεν, according to whether one interprets the clause as conditional or indirect interrogative.
   l. σκαφεῖα.

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28 Before the date are two horizontal strokes and above them two vertical strokes none of which can be brought into conjunction with any of the known month names preceding Mecheir (l. 17).

#### Translation

N.N. to Athenodoros, my brother, many (greetings and continual) health, as I pray. ... (1.9) I did not know that ... was of the area, with the result that I stayed in Busiris three days, did not make my recommendation and threw the commission away ... I have sent you the commission wrapped up in the letter, since those obliged to make conveyance (of their land) by the 10th of Mecheir are petitioning the *strategos*. Please be so kind as ... in every way possible to ... give to Petobasthis, the one who is bringing this letter to you, so that the planting of the ten aruras may not be impeded (?). Since Skolops has not allowed us to work at once, the ... has been burnt .... from our endeavors ... separated from the ditch-digging ....

See to the ropes and the iron, whether they are ready. If not, get three other hacks for us. Otherwise, take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 22 of Caesar, ... 14. Vso: To brother Athenodoros.

# 2644 Letter

P. 25386 29.5 x 17.2 cm. Herakleopolites June 26, 4

Margins: upper 6.5, lower 3.5 cm. *Kollesis* 4.5 cm. from the left. The same script on **2622** and **2643**. Verso blank.

This letter is addressed to Athenodoros in his capacity as "trafficker" or "merchant" and concerns grain shipments. Since the boats necessary for transporting the grain to Koma have been requisitioned by the army, the grain risks reaching the market too late to be sold. Some sort of grain-price manipulations at the New Market seem to be the result, and a certain Antiochos has advised the anonymous correspondent of this letter to take what he can get (?). He therefore writes Athenodoros requesting his advice and instructions on how to proceed.

[ 'A]θηνοδώρωι τῶι ἐμπολαίωι [ πλεῖστ]α χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς [ἔρρωμένωι ἄριστ]α ἐπανάγειν ὡς εὔχομαι· [γίγνωσκε ὅτι τὰ] πλοῖα ἄπαντα ἐνγεγάρευται ὑπὸ τῆς λεγεῶνος καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκω{ι} πως νῦν [τὸν πυρὸν] μεταγάγω{ι} εἰς Κόμα· εἰ οὖν ἐ[θέλεις] πέμψον μοι πλοῖον ἔτερον ὅπως π[ορεύωμαι] εἰς τὴν Κόμα· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μεταχθῆ[ι ὁ πυρὸς] ἄπρατος ἔσται· ἕκαστος γὰρ ...[ ]

- 10 .ου γεωργὸς ἀπὸ Νέας ᾿Αγορᾶ⟨ς⟩· οἱ γὰρ ἑλόντες τὴν νέαν ἤδη οἱ πλείονες πεδ..τα[ι] τὴν τιμὴν τῆι λεγεῶγι· ᾿Αντίοχός φασιν ἐμὲ δεῖ⟨ν⟩ λαβεῖν εἰς ὰ ἐπο⟨ί⟩ησαν .[...] ὑπερ... τ[]ὸ ἀνήλωμ[α]· πρὸ τῶν ὅλων σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλο[υ] ἵ[ν'] ὑγιαίνης ὃ δὴ μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι·
- 1 ἐμπολαίωι: A relatively rare word, attested in the papyri here for the first time.
- 3 Cf. **2614**.3 n.
- 4 l. έγγεγάρευται.
- 6 ἔ[χεις]?
- 10 Νέας 'Αγορᾶ(ς): Apparently a place name, heretofore unattested, in the Herakleopolite nome (?).
- 12-13 ίνα μη υπερέχη το ανήλωμα?
- 14 ο δη μέγιστον: Cf. **2622**.24 n., **2624**.14.
- 15 Pap. καισαρ/

### Translation

N.N. to Athenodoros, the merchant ... many greetings, continual (health and prosperity), as I wish for you. (Know that the) ships have all been pressed into service by the legion, and I now have no way of transporting the (wheat) to Koma. If, therefore, you (have one?), send me another boat so I may (travel) to Koma. For unless the wheat is transported it cannot be sold. For each ... farmer from New Market. For they have seized the new .... Already a greater part of the ... have ... the price for the legion. Antiochos says I should take whatever they bid (?), (so that?) the price may not be exceeded. Above all take care of yourself, so you stay healthy – which is our fondest desire. Farewell. Year 26 of Caesar, Epeiph 2.

### 2645 Letter

P. 25260 20.7 x 15.5 cm. Herakleopolites Feb. 19, 13

Margins: upper 4.5, right  $\pm$  2, lower  $\pm$  6 cm. Verso blank. On the left edge is a strip of double layer of vertical fibers. Further to the right there is a mere single layer of vertical fibers onto which the horizontal fibers have been attached. Nonetheless the uppermost layer of papyrus (the one with the writing) is missing from the far left edge having taken with it the first four or five letters with it. The same handwriting as that on **2613** and **2664**.

Someone writes to Athenodoros about runaway slaves.

[ ] 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι [πλεῖσ]τα [χα]ίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσθαι·

[κατα]πέπληται Πετεχῶν ὁ ἡμέτερος [μετὰ] παιδαρίου ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀνακεχώρη-

5 [κεν] εἰς τοὺς κατὰ σε τόπους· εὖ πο⟨ι⟩ή-[σεις] ἐπιτάξας τινὰ τῶν σῶν μετα [..... ἐ]κομιζο..υτοι τὸ γράμμα γενε() [ἴν' αὐτὸς] συμψησθῆι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπιμέλλ/(ου) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης). ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσ(αρος) Με\χ/(εὶρ) κ̄δ

### 7 yever 8 vy

- 2 ἐρρῶσθαι: More usual in the Athenodoros archive is ὑγιαίνειν.
- 3 [ἀνα]πέπληται? See H. Youtie, HThR 41 (1948) 15.36 n. = id., Scriptiunculae I 493, discussing such compound words as they apply to navigation on the Nile.
- 4 παιδαρίου: Cf. J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3960.28 n., discussing the problems of interpretation. On runaway slaves in antiquity see P. Turner 41; I. Biezunska-Malowist, "Les esclaves fugitifs", in: Studi in onore di E. Volterra VI, Milan 1969, 75–90; H. Bellen, Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich, Wiesbaden 1971; E. Turner, O. Skutsch, JRS 50 (1960) 108–111; R. Scholl, Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri, Trier 1989, 141ff.; G. Horsley, NDIEC 4, p. 97. On slaves in Egypt in general: O. Biezunska-Malowist in: Egitto e storia antica 261–270.
- 7 ἐ]κόμιζον αὐτοί ?τὸ γράμμα: Cf. 2665.3 n.
- 8 συμψησθηι: Cf. P. Tebt. I 13.15 and 48.31 n.; **2639**.7–8.
- 9 Pap. καισ̄

#### Translation

N.N. to Athenodoros, (many) greetings and continual health. Our Petechon has sailed (up?, down?) with his own slave, and (he) has escaped into the area near you. Be so kind as to command one of your men ..., (so that he) may be apprehended. Otherwise, take care of yourself, so you stay well. Farewell. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 24.

### 2646 Letter

P. 25273 24.7 x 30 cm. Herakleopolites May 12, 3

Margins: upper 2.7, below col. II: 3 cm. One *kollesis* 14 cm. from the left edge and another flush with the right edge. Written in the same hand as **2614**, **2634**, **2636**, **2641**, **2642**, **2653**, **2666** and **2667** but in much larger letters.

Unusual is the arrangement of the writing on the page. The left column contains the letter proper with its salutation in the first line and conclusion, valediction and dating in their usual places in the last lines. However, the second column of writing, which is unadorned by any salutation, valediction or other indication as to the reason for its presence on the same page, obviously belongs to the same letter. For,

in addition to the identical paleography of both columns of writing, further proof that they are part and parcel of the same letter are the occasional line ends from the left column which run over the *kollesis* onto the next sheet. Since the second column lacks any identifying ear marks, it is probably best to treat it as a gigantic *post scriptum*.

Someone, either Diokes or a *dioecete*, writes to Athenodoros about various matters concerning other officials – including past and present prefects, police and soldiers – and finances.

### Col. I [..... 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι] γλυκυτάτωι $\pm 16$ ] μετεωριτοσις ]λειν οἰκονομήθη $\pm 16$ ]δε ήμεῖν ἢ ὅτι .. $\pm 16$ 5 Ιρων ίνα εί δυνα-±16 μη έπ' αύτην και εί μ.[ $\pm 7$ ση διὰ σ(ε)α(υ)τοῦ [ἔ]χειν χα[ ±7 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ίνα οἰ ἀν[ 10 καθεσ[..]νται ἐμέλησε [ ἔχωμεν [ ]κ..π..[ τοῦ \../ μετὰ πολ(λ)ῆς κακοπα[θίας · ὑπὲ]ρ δὲ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς ἡς μοι [ἔ]δωκας [ε] ἀνήσασθαι Περί Βουσίριν (δραχμῶν) κ ἐὰν μὴ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπαύλεως δοῖς (δραχμὰς) διακοσίας οὐ συνχωρεί · ἐὰν μὲν οὖν δόξη τῶι ἡγεμόνι γράψαι περὶ τῶν μαχαιροφ(όρ)ων · εἰ δὲ μ[ή], λήψομαι στρατιώτας τρείς παρ' αὐτοῦ. έάν σοι φαίνη\ται/ συντόμως γράψης τί με δεῖ πο(ι)εῖν · τὸ δὲ πλοῖον οὔ πω(ι) η.α· χαριή μοι σ(ε)α(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμελ(όμε)νος ἵνα ὑγι(αίνης)· ἔρρω[(σο)] (ἔτους) κζ Καίσαρος Παχὼν ιζ

#### Col. II

ἔγραψά σοι πρὸ τῶν ἐπιστολὰς πώς σοι καὶ ἄνῃ

25 'Αφινίωι δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἔλθῃ· γ{ε}ίνωσκε τ.[ ] μον[ ±7 ]..[.γ]ράμματος ἐμφανίσ-

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[αι ἀπ]οδόσθαι ὑπὸ ᾿Αλεξᾶτος τοῦ 30 Τύχωνος άδελφοῦ 'Αφινίωι · αὐτὸς

δὲ λίαν μετεωρίζεται 'Ηρᾶς δὲ παρήσεται τη (ταλαντ-) ι διὰ τὸ Τυρ(ρ)άνιον μικῶς μετριάζειν ίνα λάβωμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα· 'Ασκλᾶν τὸν τοῦ 'Αρήου

35 εύψυχον πο(ί)ησον · θεῶν θελόντων τὸ κατὰ αὐτὸν οἰκονομηθήσεται τῆ ἔξω ώς ώμολόγησαι · πειρασόμεθα καὶ τι [η] Δαμᾶτος ἐκπλῦσαι · Τύχων ἥκει είς τὴν πόλιν τούτου χάριν · ἐὰν τὸ πλοῖον

40 εἰσέλθη, ἐμβήσο(ν)ται οἱ σοί · ἐγὼ(ι) γὰρ θέλω τὴν τοῦ ἡγε[μό]νος ἐπιστολὴν λαβεῖν, εί καί σοι δοκ[εῖ.]

vso: (upside down)ἀπ(όδος) 'Αθηνοδώρωι (rightside up) διοκης 'Αθηνο[δώρωι

14, 15 ← 32 /

l. μετεωριτός (an unattested verbal adjective?) είς?, οτ μετεωρεί τὸ σισ-?

l. ἐν τῆ Περὶ Βουσῖριν: See M. Kaimio, P. Hels. I 32.4 n., on this toparchy.

δοῖς: See on this subjunctive form Gignac, Grammar II 388.

*l*. συγχωρεί. 16

ήγεμόνι: The prefect in this year is still unknown. G. Tyrannius is last attested in office in 5/4 and P. Octavius first attested in 2/1 B.C. Cf. 2605.1 n. for bibliography.

μαγαιροφ(όρ)ων: Cf. 2639.9-10 n. η.α: Perhaps some form of  $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ îν?

22, 23 The abbreviation symbols employed in these lines are too indistinct to read.

24 *l.* πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων aut sim.

ἀνάμνησιν: This seems to be the first attestation of the word in the documentary papyri. 26

27 γίγνωσκε.

Τυρ(ρ)άνιον: See 2605.1 n. for bibliography on Gaius Tyrannius. μικῶς: Olsson 54.17 n. discusses the word μικ(κ)ός.

θεῶν θελόντων: Olsson 41.11-12 n. discusses this phrase.

 ώμολόγησε. 37

ἐκπλῦσαι: non liquet.

l. διοκητής? Cf. 2654.11 where a similar configuration appears. L. Διόκκης? Cf. IG VII 188.14, where this name appears. Seleukos is attested as the dioecete in this year in **2600**.10. Otherwise, he appears in **2612**, **2613**, **2614**, **2634**.1.

### Translation

N.N. to (Athenodoros, the) sweetest ... (l. 12ff.) with much annoyance. Concerning the installment - namely 20 drachmas - which you gave me for purchases in the Peri Busirin (toparchy): unless you do not give two hundred drachmas, he is not in

agreement (or: it is impossible, i.e. to purchase). If it please you, write to the prefect about the policemen. If not, then I will take three soldiers from him. If it please you, write me immediately what I should do. The ship is not sailing at all (?). You would do me a favor to take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 27 of Caesar, Pachon 17.

I have written you before why it is not permitted to give Afinius either the letter or the installment: it is so that he may not be reminded. Know that ... it was made known in a letter that it was returned to Afinius by Alexas, Tychon' brother. He is very disturbed. Heras will forget the 10 talents, because Tyrranius (the prefect) has calmed down a bit, so that we can get a letter from him. Encourage Asklas, Areos's agent. The gods willing, his matter will be put in order outside - as he promised. We will try to ... Damas. That is why Tycho is coming to the city. If the boat should arrive, your agents will embark. I want to have the prefect's letter – if it please you! Give (this) to Athenodoros. Diokes to Athenodoros.

### 2647 Letter

P. 25267 18 x 16 cm. Herakleopolites March 21, 8

Margins: left 1.5, right 2, lower 1.5 cm. A certain Pla- writes admonishing Athenodoros to take care of Hieronikes who is facing charges involving a shipwreck and subsequent loss of cargo.

α..[

πλεῖστ\α/ χαίρει[ν καὶ] διὰ [παντὸς ὑ-] γιαίνειν · δεόντω[ς] Ίερονίκης είς τοσαγάλην πορ[εύ]εται διὰ τὸ

- μέμψασθαι αὐτῷ ἃ ἀπώλεσε ἐν τῆι ναυαγία · εὖ οὖν πο(ι)ήσεις, ἀδελφέ, γράψας τοῖς σοῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν εἰσδέξωνται, καὶ μὴ ἀπορίψη(ς) · ἐὰν μὴ ἔχη\ς/ τόπον ἐν τῷ σου α...φ εἰς Βουσῖριν γρ\ά/-
- ψον μόνον ώς ο[ ὑ μὴ ἀ]πορίψης ε..() άλλ\α/ τεύξεται ὑπ[....] πρὸ δὲ πάντων σεα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμ[έλου ἵν]α ὑγιαίν(ης). ἔρρωσ(ο) ἔτους κβ [Καίσαρος Φα]μεν(ὼθ) κ̄ξ

vso: Πλα απῖ 'Αθᾶι ..[

10 ε ... 14 φαμεν

- 4 τοσαγάλην: If this is the name of a village, it seems to be unattested for the Herakleopolite nome.
- 6-7 Cf. 2640.8.
- 9 *l.* ἐν Βουσίρει.: See **2611**.5 n., 8 n.
- 10 o[ὑ μη]: According to Mayser II,1 § 44 (p. 233), a particularly strong form of negation characteristic of private letters.
- 14 Pap. φαμεν
- 15 Pap.  $\alpha \pi \bar{\iota} = \dot{\alpha} \pi (\dot{\delta} \delta \sigma \varsigma)$ ? 'Aθα̂ι: See p. 80.

### Translation

Pla() (to Athenodoros), many greetings (and continual) health. Hieronikes is going as he should to Tosalges (?) to face the music about the things he lost in the shipwreck. You will do well, my brother, to write to your people in order that they receive him – and do not reject (him). If you don't have a place in your ... at Busiris, just write so that you do not reject .... Above all take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 22 (of Caesar), Phamenoth 25. Vso: Pla() ... to Athas ....

### 2648 Letter

P. 25280 20.5 x 13 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 5.5 cm., right: negligible. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the right edge. Mnaseas (?) writes on behalf of a lady in need to a certain Theon requesting his assistance.

[....] σεας Θέωνι τῶι φιλτάτωι πλεῖστα χα(ίρειν) [.]. ιόμην καὶ ᾿Απερῶτα τὸν πατέρα σοι δι᾽ ἑτέρα(ς) [ἐ]πιστολῆς φιλοτιμότατα γεγραφηκέναι τὴν [.] ρ[...].τ.[.]. της συ.ολιωιθεν ὑμῶν ἀπο-

- 5 [.]εντος. καὶ σπουδάσαι .... τινα μητρὸς .... και .. πρ[οσ]επιπαρακαλῶ{ι} ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς [....]......φορήση αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτ∖ῆ/ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ μηδὲν κα...... συνεργή- [σ]ας δὲ αὐτῆ ⟨ε⟩ἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλογὴν
- καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ⟨ε⟩ἰς τὸ μηδὲν αὐτὴν—
   [.].λα.κέναι ὅπως περιγενομένη ἀνθομολογηστ()
   ἐσχηκυῖα ἄπαντα τὰ παρά σου δίκαια· πρὸ
   [δὲ πάντων] ἐπιμέλου σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαίνης

vso: ] Θέωνι

1 χζ 2 επερα 7 αυτ 11 τ

- 1 [Μνα]σέας?: Cf. **2622**.1.
- 2 'Απερῶτα: See P. Hamb. 217.15–18 n., where the occurrences of this name (predominantly from the Oxyrhynchites) are listed.
  1 σαν
- 3 φιλοτιμότατα γεγραφηκέναι: Cf. PSI 484.7: γράψαι φιλότιμον ἐπιστολήν.
- 9 (ε) ις τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλογήν: Cf. 2650.10-11 n.
- 11 *l.* ἀνθομολογήσητ(αι)?

#### Translation

Mnaseas to his dearest Theon, many greetings. I have ... Aperos, your father, in another letter that he write most assiduously ... (1. 7) that he bring her and her things and ... aiding her on our recommendation and that of her/our? father so that she not ..., in order that in the long run she may end up thanking you, having received thorough justice at your hands. Above (all) take care of yourself so you stay well .... Vso.: To Theon.

### 2649 Letter

P. 25276 24.5 x 11 cm.

Herakleopolites Oct. 29, 5 A.D.

Margins: upper 5, right 2-3, lower 4 cm. Verso blank.

Although the left half of this letter has broken off, taking with it the names of both correspondents, it probably belongs to Athenodoros's archive, since a certain Tryphas, known from other letters (2617.1,12, 2618.1) also appears in this one. Furthermore, it is written in the same script as 2659 and 2662. The main purpose of this letter was to greet the "folks back home" and to ask for some bread to be sent.

	[	] πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
	[ἐρρωμένωι ἄ	ριστα] ἐπανάγειν ὡς εὔχομαι·
	[	κυ]δάρου ἀναπλέοντος ἀναγκαῖον
	[ἡγησάμην σε	ε δι' α]ὐτοῦ ἀσπάσ⟨ασ⟩θαι· ἀσπάζου —
5	[	Σ]ωτήριχον τὸν ἀ[δ]ελφὸν καὶ Τρυφᾶν
	[	] καὶ Ἡράκλειον τὸν πατ[έ]ρα καὶ τὰ
	[παιδάρια ?	]ν καὶ τὸν Μικκὸν κ[α]ὶ τοὺς
	[ἐν οἴκωι πάν	τες· πρὸ τῶ]ν ὅλων δέομαι [το]ῦ σώματος
	[	έπ]ιμέλειαν πο(ι)εῖσθα[ι ἵν '] ὑγιαίνῃς·
10	[	] ἐρρωσ(ο) (ἔτους) κε Καίσα[ρ]ος 'Αθὺρ β'
	[	]ενι πέμψεις μοι ἐν τῶι κυδάρωι

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[ ].ως οὐκ ἐμβεβλημέν[....].ηι ὀλίγα ἀρτίδια [διὸ ἐρωτηθεὶς μὴ λη]ρήσης ε( ) [ πέ]μψον τὰ ἀρτίδια ἐν τῶι κυδάρωι 15 [ ἀν]απλεῖ.

2 [ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστα]: Cf. **2614**.3 n.

3 κυβάρου: Cf. 2661.11 n. for bibliography on ships and shipping in antiquity.

3-4 Cf. 2619.4-5 n.

5 Τρυφᾶν: Athenodoros's mother?/father? or sister; cf. 2617.1n., 4n.

- 7 τὸν Μικκὸν or τὸν μικκὸν: Cf. P. Oxy. 3936.25 where the same problem occurs. Mayser II,2,1, §§54,55; A. Deissmann, Berliner Phil. Wochenschr. 22 (1902) 1467–1468; J.H. Moulton and N. Turner, A Grammar of New Testament Greek III, Edinburgh 1963, 165–172, discuss the use of the definite article with names.
- 8 The restoration is somewhat too long for the lacuna.
- 12 ἀρτίδια: Cf. Battaglia, Artos 73.
- 13 Restored on the basis of **2660**.15–16. Pap. ε+

#### Translation

N.N. to N.N., many greetings, (continual) health and prosperity, as I wish (for you). ... since the boat is sailing up (to you), I (regarded) it necessary to greet (you by means of it). Greet (therefore) ... brother Soterichos, Tryphas, ... father Herakleios and (the slaves?), ... N.N., and Mikkos along with (everyone else at home). Above all I ask you ... to pay attention to your body so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 25 of Caesar, Hathyr 2.

... you will send me in the boat ... were not loaded ... a few loaves. Since you have been asked do not therefore prattle on ... send the loaves in the boat (which is) sailing up ....

### 2650 Letter

P. 25257 25 x 10.5 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 4.8, left 1.8, lower 1 cm. *Kollesis* almost flush with the right edge. Artemidoros writes to Apollonios about fiscal/financial matters concerned with tax assessments from eleven years before. Clarifying details are lost in the lacunae.

'Αρτεμίδωρος 'Απολλ[ωνίωι τῷ] ἀδε\φ/(ῷ)
πλ[εῖστ]α χαί(ρειν) καὶ ὑγι[αίνε]ιν ὡς εὕχ[ο]μαι·
ἡμᾶς τινα παραγραφὴν τω [...].
καὶ εὕρομεν τὴν μίαν [

5 traces καὶ οὐ καλῶς λέγ(ε)εις τῶι εἶναι τὸν Πα(ν)ετβεῦιν παρ' έμοῦ· παρητησάμην έπ[..]σειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸ πλείω(ι) τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) ἀπητημένον τέταρτον· καλῶς

- 10 οὖν πο⟨ι⟩ήσεις, ἀδελφέ, εἰς τὴν ἐμήν καταλογὴν ἐπ{ι}έχων μ[ο]υ [..]χρ\η/() σὺ ο.[..]..[..] καὶ πεισθῆς [...]... ανταιπ traces [....]υτος traces
- 15 σκοπῶν ἔως τῆς εγθιδιο[ πρὸ δὲ πάντων ἐπιμέλου [σ]εα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης)· ἔρρωσ(ο) (ἔτους) ιη Καίσ[(αρος)] ..... ε

vso: 'Απολλωνίωι] τῶι ἀδε[λφῶι]

### 17 vyt

1 'Απολλ[ωνίωι: An Apollonios also appears in **2653**.2.

2 Pap. χς

5-6 Ι. καὶ οὐ καλῶς ποιεῖς λέγων αὐτῶι κτλ.

6 Πα(ν)ετβεῦιν: Cf. J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412 introd., on the geographical distribution of this name.

10–11 εἰς τὴν ἐμήν καταλογήν: Cf. P. Oxy. 787 (= Olsson, no. 16.3–4); P. Strasb. 117.4; P. Mert. II 61.8; R. Cavenaile, Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum, Wiesbaden 1958, no. 257; **2648**.9.

#### Translation

Artemidoros to (his) brother, Apollonios, many greetings and good health and prosperity, as I wish. That we ... a certain register of debts ... and we found the one ... it was not right of you to say to him that Panetbeuis is with me. I begged brother E- for exemption for most of the 7th year from the quarter demanded (of me). You will therefore do well, brother, on my recommendation to .... Above all take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 18 of Caesar, ... 5. Vso: To Apollonios, (my) brother.

### 2651 Letter

P. 25183 23 x 15.3 cm. Herakleopolites August 22, 9

Margins: upper 5.5, left 3, lower 5.5, right 0.5–1.5 cm.

Asklepiades writes to Herakleides encouraging him to seek out the toparch, who is presently in Herakleopolis where Herakleides lives, in order to clarify a long-standing matter. Asklepiades would see to the matter himself, but he is suffering from an eye ailment which prevents him from coming to Herakleopolis.

'Ασκληπιάδης 'Ηρακλείδηι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν καὶ [διὰ] παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν καθάπερ εὔχομ\α/(ι)· γ{ε}ίνωσκε ὅτι περὶ οὑ πέπομφας ἐπιστολίου ὁ τοπάρχης ἀπόκρισιν ἡμῖν οὐ δέδωκεν

- 5 περὶ τούτου · ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοπάρχης παραγ{ε}ίνεται εἰς Ἡρακλέους πόλιν παρά σοι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος μὴ ἀμελήσης ὅπως αὐτὸ τὸ πρὰγμα ἐγβιβάσης · διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀφθαλμίαν παραπεπόδισμαι τοῦ ἀναβῆναι
- 10 πρός σε·καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἐ(πιμέλου) ἴν ᾽ ὑγι(αίνης)· ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κα Καίσαρος Μεσορὴ κθ

vso: Ἡ[ρακ]λείδηι τῶι ἀδελ(φῶι)

10 ct, wt

2 Ἡρακλείδηι: Cf. 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611 and 2656.

3 *l.* γίγνωσκε.

4 τοπάρχης: Since the *toparch*'s competence was wide ranging, it is impossible to speculate what Asklepiades's concern might have been. On *toparchs* and the spheres of their jurisdiction see: W. Peremans, E. van 't Dack, "La toparchie dans l'Egypte ptolemaique", CdE 23 (1948) 147ff.; J. Lesquier, P. Magdola 20.5 n.; P. Hib. 240.1 n.; P. Tebt. 703, p. 92; A. Samuel, "The Internal Organization of the Nomarch's Bureau", in: Essays ... C.B. Welles, New Haven, Conn. 1966, 213–229; H. Maspero, Les finances de l'Egypte sous les Lagides, Paris 1905, 186; F. Preisigke, Girowesen im griechrömischen Ägypten, Strassburg 1910, repr. Hildesheim 1971, 134; Oertel, Liturgie 162.

ἀπόκρισιν: All other attestations for this word in WB and Supplement are from the early Byzantine papyri.

6 *l.* παραγίγνεται.

8 αὐτὸ τὸ πρὰγμα: See Olsson 77.2 n. on such pleonasms such as this. l. ἐκβιβάσης

οφθαλμίαν: Another unusual word in this pedestrian context. Cf. P. Flor. III 382.41: δ[-φθαλμ]ίαις. Otherwise, it is attested only in the literary papyri - and on a gold *lamella* (R. Kotansky, Greek Magical Amulets I, Opladen 1994, no. 53). Similar both in context and in style is PSI IV 299.6 = Döllstädt no. III: καὶ τραχώματα ἔσχον.

Diseases of the eye, especially ophthalmia, were, and still are, pandemic in Egypt, and the ancient and modern literature on the subject is extensive; for example, W. Westendorf, "Augenheilkunde", LdÄ 1 (1975) 560–562; H. Grapow, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter III, Berlin 1956, pp. 53–55; M.-H. Marganne, CdE 53 (1978) 313–320; H. Nielsen, Ancient Ophthalmological Agents. A Pharmaco-Historical Study of Collyria, Odense 1974 (non vidi); id., Medicaments used in the Treatment of Eye Diseases in Egypt, the countries of the Near East, India and China in Antiquity, 1987 (non vidi); H. Harrauer, ZPE 35 (1979) 129; F. Maltomini, ZPE 48 (1982) 162; Chassinat 72, 146,–162, 170, 189ff., 204–233, 294–304, 315, 322–323; Till,14–19; Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 29–37; E. Savage-Smith, "Hellenistic and Byzantine Ophthalmology: Trachoma

and Sequelae", Dumbarton Oaks Papers 38 (1984) 169–186; M. Meyerhof, "The History of Trachoma Treatments in Antiquity and during the Arabic Middle Ages", JHAS 4 (1980) 147–206 (non vidi); Wm. Brashear, JAC 5 (Changchun, P.R. China 1990) 151–158; M.-H. Marganne, L'ophtalmologie dans l'Egypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs, Leiden 1994. Mircea Eliade, Zalmoxis. Revue des Etudes Religieuses 1 (1938) 249, cites additional bibliography.

On doctors in general: G. Pfohl, Inschriften der Griechen. Epigraphische Quellen zur Geschichte der antiken Medizin, Darmstadt 1977; R. Steuer and J. Saunders, Ancient Egyptian and Cnidian Medicine, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1959; D.W. Amundsen, G. Ferngren, "The Forensic Role of Physicians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt", Johns Hopkins Bull. Hist. Med. 52 (1978) 336–353; F. Kudlien, Der griechische Arzt im Zeitalter des Hellenismus, Wiesbaden 1979, 65–72; P. Roesch, "Médecins publics dans l'Egypte impériale", in: G. Sabbah, ed., Centre Jean Palerne. Mémoires III. Médecins et Médecine dans l'Antiquité, St. Etienne 1982, 119–129; J. Rea, P. Schubert, P. Oxy. 3926.37 n.; G. Majno, The Healing Hand, Harvard Univ. Press 1975. B. McGing, P. Dublin 1, introd, p. 3, cites further bibliography on doctors.

#### Translation

Asklepiades to Herakleides, his brother, many greetings and continual health, as I pray. You should know that the *toparch* has not given us any answer in the matter concerning which you sent me a letter. Since the *toparch* is with you in Herakleopolis, you should not neglect this opportunity to bring this matter to an end. I am unable to come up to you because of my eye affliction. Take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Mesore 29. Vso: Herakleides to his brother.

### 2652 Letter

P. 21971 9.4 x 16.1 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 4.2, left 3.5, right variable, lower l cm. *Kollesis* 1 cm. from the right edge. The script is the same as that on **2605** and others – see **2605** introd. Verso blank.

Athenodoros writes to Eurylochos about a sum of 2000 silver drachmas on the tax-account of the *arithmetikon katoikon*. Although this tax is well attested for Roman Egypt, most of the instances refer to the Arsinoite nome. Here is a rare instance of this tax with explicit reference to the Herakleopolite nome (l. 3). It is, furthermore, one of the earliest attestations to this tax. O. Tait Ashmol. 24 (9 B.C.) is the earliest dated receipt for this tax. Unfortunately, no date is preserved on this letter. However, since Athenodoros's and Eurylochos's other letters date from 10/9 to 2 B.C., one can therefore posit the composition of this letter as roughly contemporary.

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'Αθηνόδωρος Εὐρυλόχω τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρ(ειν)
[κ]αὶ ὑγιαίνειν. ὀρθῶς χρήση δοὺς 'Αντωνίῳ ἀντὶ τῶν
τὰς ἴσας ὧν ἔσχον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῦ 'Ηρακλεοπολίτου
ἀπὸ λόγου ἀριθμητικοῦ κατοίκων
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας [ἀπὸ λόγου ἀριθμητικ.]
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας (γίν.) (δρ.) 'Β

# 1 χαιρ $^{7}$ 3 -πολι $^{7}$ 5 δισχιλιας /5 $^{8}$

1 Εὐρυλόχω: Cf. **2626**.1, **2627**.1, **2628**.1, **2629**.1, **2630**.1.

2–5 l. ἀντὶ τῶν ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν δισχιλιῶν ὧν ἔσχε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἡ. τὰς ἴσας ἀργυρίου δραχμάς (γίν.) κτλ.

l. ἐν τῷ -πολίτῳ.

The arithmetikon katoikon has been discussed most recently by R. Daniel and P. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 59 (1985) 47ff. Cf. C. Nelson, 2525 intr.; B. Kramer, D. Hagedorn, P. Hamb. III 209 introd.; cf. 2613.5 n.

#### Translation

Athenodoros to Eurylochos, greetings and health! You did well to give Antonios the same sum of two thousand silver drachmas – 2000 dr. – instead of (replacing?) those which he had with him in the Herakleopolite (nome) from the *arithmetikon katoikon* account.

# 2653 Letter

P. 25250 13.3 x 16.6 cm. Herakleopolites June 26, 9

Margins: upper 3.5, right  $\pm$  2.5, left 4, lower 1 cm. *Kollesis* 4 cm. from the left. Verso blank. The same hand as **2605**, **2614**, **2618**, **2634** and **2668**. Athenodoros writes Soterichos about grain shipments.

'Αθηνόδωρος Σωτηρίχω[ι] τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν κ[α]ὶ ὑγιαίνειν· ἐπ{ε}ὶ τῆ 'Απολλωνίου τοῦ προσ[τ]ἀτου φάσει νεναύλωμαι πλοῖα εἴ σοι συμ[φέ]ρει τετρακοσίας ἀρτάβας [.. ἑτ]οίμας οὕσας· {η} ἐὰν λάβης τὴν ἐπισο\λ/(ὴν) [εὐθέ]ως μοι διασάφησον· τὰ γὰρ πλοῖα [τ]ῆ ȳ προσ[δέ]χου· καὶ σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου [ἴ]ν' ὑγι(αίνης)· ἔρρ\ω/(σο)

(ἔτους) κα Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ β-

### 8 vy+

προσ[τ]άτου: This word is often attested during this period for the head of a club or guild (P. Mich. 243; SB 8267.5,17; P. Ryl. IV 580.7,10, etc.; San Nicolo, Vereinswesen II 57f.) However, it may also apply to any leader or head of any group: **1200**.15: οἱ προστάται καὶ σιτολόγοι; P. Oxy. II 299.4: προσ[τ]άτης of a village; P. Ryl. II 183.1: π. ἰδίων ὄνων, 183 a.2: π. ὀνηλασίου ὄνων. φάσει: Olsson 17.15–16 n. cites parallels.

5 [(πυροῦ) ἐτ]οίμας?

10

7  $[\tau]\hat{\eta}$   $\bar{\gamma}$ : Since this is the day after this letter was written, Athenodoros cannot have been very far from Soterichos.

#### Translation

Athenodoros to his brother, Soterichos, greetings and good health. At the word from Apollonios I sent you – if it please you – ships with four hundred artabs (of wheat ?), since they were ready. If you receive this letter, please let me know it immediately. Expect the ships on the 3rd. Take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Epeiph 2.

# 2654 Letter of Recommendation

P. 25237 31.2 x 14 cm. Herakleopolites
July 14, 6

Margins: upper 5.5, left 2, lower 15.7 cm. *Kollesis* 2 cm. from the left. On the upper left corner of the back are remnants of four line ends.

Philotas commends to Soterichos, the *dioecete*, a farmer named Ptoys who is bringing this letter to Soterichos. Philotas requests Soterichos's help in collecting the rental fees which certain unnamed people owe Ptoys for the right to graze their herds on his pasture land.

R. Hübner, P. Köln III 146 introd., was the first to recognize that payments for grazed pasture land such as one finds here, in P. Köln III 146, in P. Ryl. II 73 and in PSI IX 1057, are not restitution for damaged property but rather fees for contractually guaranteed grazing rights.

This letter belongs to the well known and often discussed genre of recommendation letters. Cf. Olsson, p. 61; C.W. Keyes, "The Greek Letter of Introduction", AJP 56 (1935) 28ff.; P. Ryl. IV 608; P. Oxy. I 32; K. Treu, "Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe", in: Zetesis, Album amicorum ... E. de Strycker, Antwerp 1973, 629ff.; A. Bowman, J.D. Thomas, Vindolanda: The Latin Writing-Tablets (= Britannia Monograph Series 4), London 1983, no. 22, introd.; H. Cotton, Documentary Letters of Recommendation (= Beitr. z. kl. Phil. 132), Cologne 1981.

2655

### 2655 Letter

P. 25254 27 x 10 cm. Herakleopolites 21/20

Margins: upper 2.3, left 1–1.5, lower 1.5 cm. Verso blank. Aphrodisios complains to Soteles about his laziness. Not only Aphrodisios but also others have been waiting for months for the delivery of certain goods which still have not arrived. Aphrodisios warns Soteles that until now he has held him in high repute, but unless he soon starts putting out his good name will be ruined.

> 'Αφροδίσιος Σωτ[έλη χαί-] ρειν · έγὼ μὲν ἐν διαλ[ήψει] σε άγαθη είχον έπει δ' έ[ν οὐ-] δενὶ μ(ε)ίζονι πειρᾶν σ[...]

- τοιοῦτον γεγονότα α.[...] ριστην όψόνια τάδε ...[..] ψον μοι ά (ς) ἐπεδέξου ἀπηγε[..] σεν μοι ὑπὲρ ᾿Αδράστου εισκ[..] ...ν τούτφ ..ια.() εξ κ[αὶ]
- 10 τοῦ ἐλαίου τουσ.... ἐπεὶ δ[ὲ] ού βούλει τὸ ἔλαιον πέμπει[ν] ούδὲ τὴν τοῦ πυροῦ τιμήν. κομιομαι παρά 'Αθετος καί έση αύτῶι ἐν τοιαύτηι διαλήψει.
- 15 ἀπέσχες γὰρ πρὸ μηνῶν δύο τὸ ᾿Αδράστου γράμμα καὶ ἐγὼ άνθωμολογησάμην Πάτρωνι ἀπέχειν τὸν πυρὸν ὃν εγθ[..] είδως ότι παντώς σε δεί άπο-
- 20 δοῦναι πέμψομεν ταχε. πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν α.α.. διὰ τὸ [..] είς Κόμα ἡμᾶς χωρίζεσθαι π[ρὸς] .// ἡμέραν μίαν. (ἔτους) ι Καίσ(αρος) .... ε
- Σωτ[έλη: Cf. 2658.1; 2657.1,25.
- 2-3 Cf. LSJ s.v. διάλαμψις.
- [γρά]ψον?, [πέμ]ψον?
- *l*. ὀψώνια.
- 8-9 είς Κ[όμα] πέμψον τούτω i.e. 'Αδράστω?
- κομιοθμαι.

διοικης Σωτηρίχωι

9 wt

10 ἔρρ\ω/(σο) · (ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ κ

Φιλώτας Σωτηρίχωι τῶι διοικητῆ πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν · Πτῶυς ὁ ἀπο-

διδούς σοι την έπιστολην έστιν μου ημέτερος

είς ἐκφόρια ὧν καταβέβρωκαν αὐτοῦ χλωρὸν

'Ασκληπιάδου ἀντιγραφέως · μὴ οὖν ἄλλως

[ἴδ]ιον · καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτός σοι μετρεῖ τ' ἐκφόρια

[πο](ι)ήσει[ς]· καὶ σεα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν ' ὑγι(αίνης)·

καὶ ᾿Ασκληπιάδου ἀντιγραφέως γεωργός · εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις έκπράξας τοὺς ὁφ(ε)ίλντας αὐτῶι

Σωτηρίγωι: The same Soterichos in 1201.1?

1-2 Olsson 1.2 n. discusses Ptolemaic and Roman epistolary salutations and calls this particular one transitional.

2-3 Cf. P. Oxy. II 252, IV 746.3; P. Köln IV 267.3-8; P. Mert. II 62, for similar wordings.

- Either μου or ἡμέτερος, but not both. The same phenomenon in BASP 1 (1979) 146 line 10; P. Amh. II 142.7.
- ἐκφόρια: The fact that the word μετρεῖ is used in connection with the rental fees indicates that they were paid in natura. Cf. Hermann, Bodenpacht 99 (v. 2598.7 n.); R. Hübner, P. Köln II 146, p. 100. l. καταβέβρωκαν (αἶγες / πρόβατα) αὐτοῦ. On the termination -αν instead of -ασι see Mayser I,2, p. 84.

In the right margin here there are ink traces which look like alpha followed by a series of chis. They are most likely nothing more than doodles, pen trials or the result of

cleaning the pen tip.

- ἀντιγραφέως: See P. Pestman, Choachytes, pp. 356-357; A. Kazhdan, "ἀντιγραφεύς," Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Oxford 1991, 112, citing J. Bury, HSCP 21 (1910) 23-
- l. διοικητήι? Or is Philotas perhaps also dioecete? Normally, one would expect Σωτηρίχωι τῶι διοικητῆι as in Olsson no. 18.14. Cf. **2646**.44 n.

#### Translation

Philotas to the dioecete, Soterichos, many greetings and continual health. Ptoys who is bringing you this letter is the farmer of myself and Asklepiades, the accountant. Please be so good, therefore, as to collect the rental fees from those persons who owe him for the grass which they (i.e., their livestock) have consumed. He himself will measure out to you the rental fees of Asklepiades, the accountant. Do not act contrary to this! And take care of yourself, so you stay well. Farewell. Year 24 of Caesar, Epeiph 20. Vso: Dioecete to Soterichos, or: To (the) dioecete, Soterichos.

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l. 'Αθᾶτος? Athenodoros's nickname. This reading is more suitable than such others as παρὰ δὲ ἔτος.

19-20 ἀποδοῦναι scil. τὰ ὀψώνια.

20 Ι. τάχεως.

22-23  $\pi$ [ρὸς] .// ἡμέραν μίαν: See **2609**.3 n.

#### Translation

Aphrodisios to Soteles, greetings. On the one hand, I have always had a good opinion of you. Since, on the other hand, there is no greater way of testing you as such .... salaries. Send (?) me that which you have received ... to me on behalf of Adrastos for ... six and the ... of oil. Since you do not wish to send either the oil or the price of the wheat I shall get them from Athas and you will enjoy such a (bad) reputation by him. For you received the letter from Adrastos already two months ago, and I promised Patron that I would take the wheat .... Knowing that it is entirely necessary for you to pay (the wages), we shall send (it) quickly to our sister ... because we are departing for Koma for one day. Year 10 of Caesar, .... 5.

### 2656 Letter

P. 25282

Herakleopolites

Fg. A: 25 x 9 cm.

Fg. B: 8.3 x 9 cm.

Margins: upper 5.8, left 1, lower 3.4, right 2 cm. *Kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the right edge. The handwriting is the same as that on **2660** and **2663**.

Herakleides writes to Soteles about an oil delivery which Athenodoros was supposed to send him.

'Ηρακλείδης Σωτέλη τῷ ἀδε\λ/(φῷ) πλ(ε)ῖστα χαί(ρειν) καὶ ὑγιαίν(ε)ιν ὥσπερ εὕχομαι· καὶ ἐν 'Ηρακλέους πόλ(ε)ι σοι ἐμνήσθην περὶ τ[οῦ ἡμῶ]ν

- 5 ἀνγίου τοῦ ἐλαίου οὖ ἐ.[.....]

  μεν μοι ᾿Αθηνόδωρος ὁ ἀδελφό(ς)

  καὶ σὺ οὖν καλῶς πο⟨ί⟩ησ⟨ε⟩ις μετ[ρεῖν]

  ἐνταῦθα παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ μετρει
  δικαίω, κομισάμενος παρὰ
- το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ μαχαιροφόρου τὸ ἐπίσταλμα· μὴ οὖν ἀλλως
   [ποή]σης· καὶ σὺ δὲ γράφεις
   [πε]ρὶ ὧν ἂν θέλης· περὶ δὲ ᾶς
   [....]εως ἀνανκὰς σαιμεισον

- 1 'Ηρακλείδης: Cf. **2651**.1 n. Σωτέλη: Cf. **2658**.1, **2655**.1, **2657**.1,25.
- 2 Pap. χά
- l. ἀγγείου.
- l. μέτρω.
- 10 μαχαιροφόρου: Cf. **2603**.12,16, **2639**.9-10, **2646**.18.
- 14 *l.* ἀναγκὰς σήμανον.
- 15 *l*. κωμήτην.
- Since there is room for five letters at the most in the lacuna, the formula must have been extremely abbreviated.

#### Translation

Herakleides to his brother, Soteles, many greetings and health, as I pray (for it). Even in Herakleopolis I reminded you of (our?) jar of oil which ... Athenodoros, our brother, ... to me. Please be so kind, therefore, to get (the oil) from me measured out in just measure, after you have received the order from the same police officer. Do not act contrary (to my wishes)! Write me about whatsoever you wish ... on account of Petearmotes. And (take care of) yourself (so that you stay) healthy. Farewell. (Year ... of Caesar), Phamenoth 13. Vso: To Soteles.

### 2657 Letter

P. 25288 20 x 10 cm. Herakleopolites 17/16

Margins: upper 4.5, left 1.5, lower 2 cm. Semthoembes writes to the two *epistatai*, Petesuchos and Soteles, the latter of whom is already known from preceding letters in the Athenodoros archive.

Σεμθοεμβνῆ/(ς) Πετεσούχωι [καὶ Σωτέλη]
τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπιστάταις χαίρειν καὶ δ[ιὰ παντὸς]
ὑγαίνειν · χωρισθ(ε)ὶς ἀπό σου καὶ [ ]

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τον τοῦ Σεμθοικ.[

]...[

συνεσφραγισμεν

τοῦ υίοῦ σου εισ.[

].ι ὑπὸ α[

πηδησασ[

].ροσα[ σου απ[

μεγάλως [

.αιτω

μεταδεδωκ

] ἐπὶ τῆ[ς

10 περί δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ [ ύπομ]νήματ[ος

θ.μυ μη λάθες ύπο[ ]..[

έὰν μὴ οὖν ...ιτε αὐτὸν ἐπιτρ[

παραστήσαι μετῷ ἀν\δ/(ρῶν) ἕως ἀρτ\α/(βῶν) ε π[......]

μηκεν τὸ λάχ\α/(νον) παρακάλεσον Πετε[σοῦχον]

15 άμα σοι έλθ(ε) είς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐμὴ[ν ......]

πειθανάγκην ἀνάγκασον αὐ[τὸν ἵνα ἀσ-]

φάλεια μεγάλη γένηται καὶ εἰρήν[η μένη]

είς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον καὶ αὐ[τ-.....] [...]προσωπία καληι τούτων ..[......]

[ά]ντιφώνησίν μοι γράψατε ..[.......]

ύμεῖν τὸ γράμμα.

**ἔρρωσθε** 

(ἔτους) ιδ [Καίσαρος

Πετεσούχω καὶ vso:

25

Σωτέλη τοῖς ἐπι(στάταις)

- Σεμθοεμβ\ $\hat{\eta}/(\varsigma)$  is apparently an unattested name. [Σωτέλη]: Cf. 2655.1, 2656.1, 2658.1.
- χωρισθεὶς ἀφὤ ὑμῶν.
- [εὐ]προσωπία?: Cf. P. Tebt. I 19.12, for the verb εὐπροσωπέω. The substantive, otherwise once attested (see LSJ s.v.), would be new in the documentary papyri, if this is, in fact, the correct restoration here. Cf. Wm. Brashear, "New Magical and Divinatory Texts from Berlin", in: M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, edd., Ancient Magic and Ritual Power (Proc. of the International Congress "Magic in the Ancient World", Lawrence, Kansas, August 20-24, 1991), Leiden 1995, 214-215, for another unattested προσοπέωcompound word.
- 25 Pap. επτ

### 2658 Letter

P. 25277 23 x 10.3 cm.

Herakleopolites July 24, 16

Margins: upper 4.5, lower 6.3, right 1.5-2 cm. Kollesis 1.5 cm. from the right edge. Verso blank.

Evidently one of Soteles's progeny writes to his father requesting his immediate presence, since the farmers seem to have seized something belonging to him.

[......].[.]... Σωτέληι τῶι πατρὶ

[πλεῖστα] χαίρειν καὶ ἐρωιμέν (εν ) φ

[διευτυ]χείν παραιτησάμενος

[.....] παραγίνου · οί γὰρ γεορ-

[γοὶ ....].αν ἔχονταί μου · εἰ δέ μὴ [......]ων υ (ἀρτάβας) · οὐκ ἔχει σε τυ-

[χόντα π]αρὰ Στοῖτος καὶ Νααραῦ-

[τος πολλά]κις · πρὸ δὲ πάντων χα-[ριεί το] δι σώματος ζίν δι διγιαίνης

- 10 [......] ἔρρωσο · (ἔτους) ιδ Ἐπεὶφ λ.
- Σωτέλη; Cf. 2656.1 n.
- ἐρρωμένω.
- 4-5 *l.* γεωργοί: The first gamma is corrected from sigma.
- [οἰκ]ίαν?, [χω]ραν μου?
- pap. 🔻
- Στοῖτος: addendum onomasticis? Or is it simply a variant/misspelling of Στοτοῆς?
- 8
- Cf. 2418.12 n., where other occurrences of this idiom are cited.

### Translation

N.N. to his father, Soteles, (many) greetings and continued prosperity in health. Since I asked you the favor ... get here! For my farmers have my .... If (you do) not, then ... 400 artabs. You are not (often) at Stois's and Naaraus's. Above all take care of your body that you stay well. Farewell. Year 14, Epeiph 30.

### 2659 Letter

P. 25389 26.5 x 9.5 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 4, left 2, lower 7.2 cm. The same writing as on 2649 and 2662. Asklas writes to Soterichos mainly for the purpose of greeting friends and relatives. Asklas had recently been to Alexandria, and something there evidently reminded him he ought to write to his friends back home.

[ 'Α] σκλᾶς Σω[τηρίχω τῷ [π]λείστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ πα[ντὸς ὑγιαί-] [ν]ειν ώς εὔχομαι· γεν[όμενος ..... ἐν] 'Αλεξανδρεία άνανκα[ιον ήγησάμην] διὰ γραπτοῦ ἀσπάσασθ[αί σε καὶ .....] διὰ παντὸς περὶ τῆς σωτη[ρίας σου ἐρωτᾶν] őπως μὴ{ι} ἀγω[νιῶ ώς δι' έστιν μετά τό ..[ ἀσπάζου Ἡρακλει[ 10 'Ηρᾶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ [ Πτολλᾶν καὶ .. [ πρ[ὸ] πάντων κα..[ ίν' ὑ-] γιαίνης δ δὲ μέγιστον [ἡγοῦμαι·] ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους). 15 τὴν δὲ συνεσφραγισμ[ένην ἐπιστολὴν] ἀπόδος 'Απολλῶτι τ[ῶι vso.: Σωτηρί(χω)

- 1 'Ασκλᾶς = 'Ασκληπιάδης? Σω[τηρίχω = **2653**, **2654**.1,11.
- 3 e.g. γε[νομένου τοῦ δεῖνος], γε[νόμενος σήμερον].
- 4 *l.* ἀναγκα[îον: Cf. **2619**.4–5 n.
- 6–7 Another possible restoration might be περὶ τῆς σωτη[ρίας μου δηλοῦν] ὅπως μὴ ἀγω[νιᾶς.
- 11 Πτολλᾶν: Cf. 2602.11,18, 2621.8.
- 15 την δε συνεσφραγισμ[ένην ἐπιστολήν]: See 2628.3 n.

#### Translation

Asklas to Soterichos ... many greetings and continued health, as I pray. While (I was recently?) in Alexandria, (I regarded) it necessary to greet you in writing ... and above all (to inquire?) about your health, so I?/you? might not be worried .... Greet Heraklei-, ..., brother Heras, ..., and Ptollas and .... Above all ... (so that) you stay healthy which (I consider) the most important thing of all. Farewell. Year .... Give the sealed letter to Apollos .... Vso: To Soterichos.

### 2660 Letter

P. 25391 23.5 x 12.7 cm. Herakleopolites Aug. 14, 1 A.D.

Margins: upper 4, left 1.5–2.5, right 1, lower 2.5 cm. *Kollesis* 6 cm. from the left edge. Same hand as **2656** and **2663**.

Heraklas writes to his father, expressing his concern about the irrigation. He admonishes his father to make sure the fields are not left unwatered.

Ἡρακλᾶ[ς τ]ῷι θειωτάτωι πατρὶ πλεῖστα χαί[ρει]ν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσθαι. καὶ ἄλλα [σοι] ἔγραψα περὶ τοῦ χωματίου ὅπως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ποιήσης τὸν χοῦν ἀναβληθῆναι, μὴ τύχηι ἡμᾶς καὶ α...δε..θε ἀπολέσαι · διὸ καλῶς πο⟨ι⟩ήσεις, ἢ ἐὰν λάβης τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εμ[ ]....... εὖ πο⟨ι⟩ήσης ] ἐὰν δὲ

- 10 χρείαν ἔ[χης] χαλκῶν ἀλλήσεις ἐξ [ο]ἴκ[ο]υ ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὁ Ἦςος εὕρη ἀνθρώπους, Ἐρμᾶτι εἶπον κα⟨ὶ⟩ παραστήσει σοι νόμησον δὲ ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐργασθὶς τὸ χῶμα τοῦτο κινδυνεύσει τὸ ἔδαφος ἀβροχῆσαι σὺν τῷ καὶ
- 15 τὸ περυσινὸν \χῶμα/ ἀπολέσαι · διὸ ἐρωτηθεὶς μὴ ληρήσης · πρὸ δὲ πάντω[ν] ἐπιμέλ/(ου) ἵν ᾽ ὑγι(αίνης) · ἔρρ\ω/(σο) [(ἔτους)] λ Καίσαρος Με\σ/(ορὴ) κ̄α.

vso.: τῶι πατρί

16 vv

- 1 *l.* θειστάτωι: Cf. **2600**.3 n., **2631**.1.
- 3 ἄλλα γράμματα is meant. χωματίου: LSJ cites only two attestations of this word.
- 7 *l.* ὅταν: Cf. Olsson 7.13–14 n.
- 10 Ι. άλλάσσεις.
- 11 ὁ <sup>°</sup>Ωρος: Cf. **2649**.7 n. for bibliography on names with the definite article.
- 2 Ἑρμᾶτι: Cf. 2634.4,11 and 2622.4,17 where a certain Hermas also appears. l. νόμισον.
- 13 *l.* ἐργασθέν.
- 16 μὴ ληρήσης: Cf. Olsson 56.21: μὴ ο⟨ὖ⟩ν ληρήσης τὸν ἐκτιναγμόν σου.

2661

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#### Translation

Heraklas to his most divine father, many greetings and continued health. I wrote you another (letter) about the dam so that you might do everything you possibly can to accomplish erecting the wall of earth, in order that the ... not be destroyed. You would do well, either when you receive this letter .... You would do well .... If you need money, get some changed out of the household cash. If Horos does not find any men, tell Hermas, and he will come to your aid. Remember: if the dike is not made, then the land is in danger of being left unwatered, with the result that even last year's dike is destroyed. Therefore, since you have been asked, do not make any silly arguments! Above all, take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. (Year) 30 of Caesar, Mesore 21. Vso: To father.

### 2661 Letter

P. 25234 31.4 x 10.8 cm. Herakleopolites June–July 12

Margins: upper 0.8, left 1.7 cm.

The layout of the present text is not at all clear. Preceding the body of the main communication (lines 10–34) is a short note (lines 1–9) which looks – and sounds – like an afterthought, penned onto the papyrus soon after the main text was written. Yet it seems unusual that such a large upper margin (8 cm.) would have been left gaping above the main text – almost as if on purpose. Sosibios writes about the shipment of various commodities.

περὶ τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον καὶ ἐπέσεισα αὐτού[ς],
Σωτήριχλο/(ν) καὶ Ἰσχυρᾶν.
ἐμοῦ δ᾽ ἐθέλοντος καταν-

- 5 τῆσαι πρός σε πρὸς τὸ ἐπισκέψασθαί σε μετέ-λαβον παρὰ τῶν περὶ Φιλέρωτα ὅτι.. ὡς ἔσχηκα. ὑγίαινε.
- 10 Σωσιβίου γίνωσκε τὸ πλοῖ(ο)ν τῆ κ̄ε ὄφιλε παραγενόμενα καὶ ἠνδραγαθήσαμεν μέχρι οὖ ἐγβάλεται τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα

- 15 οἴνου κερ\ά/(μια) ιε, ὄξου β¯, τρυγί\α/(ς) β, 
  ἐλαί(ου) μετρ\η/(ταὶ) η, ξενικο⟨ῦ⟩ ἐσφρ\α/(γισμένη) α, 
  φασήλο[(υ)] καὶ ἐρέγμ\α/(τος) κοιεκ.() ī 
  ὧν κ⟨ε⟩ῖται εἰς τὸν ὅρμ(ον) κο\ι/() δ 
  ...ας ᾿Αρσινοιτι\κ/() δ \..̄ς/ γ
- 20 χοῖροι ϙ, κ..αρ[.].ιν\α/() ξς· τό⟨ν⟩ δὲ τόμιον οὐκ ἔλαβον· ἐστέγασται εἰς τὴν σκην\ὴ/(ν) τ(οῦ) π\λ/(οίου) ἰτέινα ξύ\λ/(α) δ· γράφεις δέ μ\οι/ παραλαβεῖν ε ὥστ' ἔλαβον
- 25 καὶ ἐλάινα πεπρασμένα δ,
  ἄλλα ἐλάινα, ἀντὶ ὧν μοι
  γράφεις ἕνδεκα, δέκα·
  παρέλαβον ὄξο(υ) κερ\ά/(μια) ιβ,
  τὰ κ⟨ε⟩ίμεν\α/ ἐν τῷ ὅρμῷ δίχηλ\α/
- 30 β'όμ\οί/(ως) ἐν τῷ ὅρμῷ καὶ τῆς κορμο(ῦ)· τὸ δὲ πιττάκιον τοῦ μέλιτος συνεσφραγισμ\έ/(νον)· πολλὰ γὰρ παρήδρευσα· καὶ σεα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμέλο(υ) ἵν' ὑγιαίν\η/(ς) [ὃ]
- 35 τὴ μέγι(στον) ἡγ(οῦμαι) · (ἔτους) ιη Καίσαρος Ἐπ[⟨ε⟩ὶ]φ .  $\bar{}$

vso: παρά Σωσιβίου

### 35 µeyt nyō

- 1 μέλιτος: Cf. **2600**.1 n.
- 1-2 οὐκ: W. Crönert, Memoria Graeca Herculanensis, Leipzig 1903, 14, and Mayser I,1, 220f., discuss such unorthodox word divisions.
- 3 Ἰσχυρᾶς: Cf. **2635**.1, where a certain Ischyras also appears.
- 8 Φιλέρωτα: Cf. 2634.11, where a Phileros also appears.
- 1. γίγνωσκε τὸ πλοῖον: This boat is briefly discussed by L. Casson, Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World, Princeton 1986, 134.128, 157.1, 159.1. Otherwise for ships and see-faring in antiquity see: A. Göttlicher, Die Schiffe in der Antike. Eine Einführung in die Archäeologie der Wasserfahrzeuge, Berlin 1985; J. Hausen, Schiffbau in der Antike, Herford 1979 = Dissertation, Aachen 1982; E. de St.-Denis, "Les types des navires dans l'antiquité", Rev. de Phil. 48 (1974) 20; D. Wachsmuth, Πόμπιμος ὁ δαίμων, Diss. Berlin 1967, pp. 51–53 (bibliography); H. Hauben in: Congr. 18 II 250f.; M. Merzagora, Aegyptus 10 (1929) 105–148; A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht, Zutphen 1978; F. Meijer, A History of Seafaring in the Classical World, London 1986; A. Höckmann, Die antike Seefahrt, Munich 1985.
- 11-12 l. ὤφειλε παραγενέσθαι.
- 13 Ι. ἐκβάλεται.
- 15 On wine and vinegar see Forbes III 70ff.; N. Kruit, ZPE 90 (1992) 267–268.

16 Pap. ελαΐ: On olives and the production of olive oil cf. Sandys 72–82; Produccion y comercio del aceite en la antiguedad (2 congreso intern. Sevilla 24–28, Febr. 1982) (non vidi); A. Arambarri, La oleicultura antigua. El olivo. Su historia. El aceite: del pisado a la prensa de viga, 1992 (non vidi); Margaret Visser, Much Depends on Dinner, London 1986, 224–258.

ξενικο(ῦ): Apparently no abbreviation mark; cf. P. Lond. 236.5: σπαθίον εν ἐσφραγισμένον.

- 17, 18 κοιεκ.(), κοι() *l*. χοινικες? Sandys 10.44 n., cites the essential bibliography on metrology, *e.g.* R.P. Duncan-Jones, ZPE 21 (1976) 43–52; *id.*, Chiron 9 (1979) 347–350; J. Shelton, ZPE 24 (1977) 55–67.
- 18 κ(ε) ιται εἰς τὸν ὅρμ(ον): More logical and appropriate would be ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ; cf. **2669**.2 n.
- 20 χοῖροι: Cf. M. Müller in: CPR X 59.4 n. and Schnebel 328, both discussing "suiculture" in Egypt.
- 22 σκηννή/(ν): "Shelter-cabin", (Casson, op. cit. 165). Pap. τ<sup>-</sup>
- 23 ἰτέινα: Cf. Aegyptus 69 (1989) 35.27, SB 5807.3.
- 28 ὄξο(v): The abbreviation mark is illegible.
- 29 δίχηλ\α/: Cf. 37.4: δίχηλ\α/ ξύλα "forked timbers". See on wood and timber in antiquity: N. Lewis, "On Timber and Nile-Shipping", TAPA 91 (1960) 137–141; M. Müller in: CPR X 59 notes; R. Meiggs, Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Oxford 1982; W. Speyer, "Holz", RAC 15 (1992) 87–116; N. Baum, Arbres et arbustes de l'Egypte ancienne (= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 31) Louvain 1988; A. Nibbi, Discussions in Egyptology 28 (1994) 35–52, citing further bibliography.

30-31 1. τοῦ κορμοῦ.

- 31 Рар. корµо
- 34 Ραρ. επιμελο
- 35 *l*. δή.

#### Translation

Concerning the honey: I have not received it, yet I have paid them – Soterichos and Ischyras. While I was wanting to come to pay you a visit (or: "to have you examine this"), I received notice from the agents of Phileros ... that I have it. Stay healthy. (From) Sosibios. The ship should have been here on the 25th. We exerted ourselves until the things recorded here below were unloaded: 15 keramia of wine, 2 of vinegar, 2 of lees, 8 metretai of oil, 1 sealed (metretes) of foreign (oil), and 10 choinices of beans and bruised corn, of which 4 choinices are in the harbor ... 3 Arsinoite ..., 3 piglets, and 65 .... I have not received the castrated pig. Under cover on the ship's deck are 4 willow logs. You write to me to take 5, so I can have them, as well as 4 (logs) of olive wood which have been sold. There are another ten (logs) of olive wood, instead of the eleven that you wrote me. I have taken the 12 keramia of vinegar. Lying in the harbor are 2 bifurcated logs; like-wise in the harbor ... of a log. The receipt for the honey is sealed. I have been very careful! Take care of yourself so you stay well, which is my greatest desire. Year 18 of Caesar, Epeiph .... Vso: From Sosibios.

### 2662 Official Letter

P. 16900 18 x 12 cm. Herakleopolites ca. 7 - 4

Margins: upper 3, lower 3.5, negligible right margin; *kollesis* almost flush with the right edge of the papyrus. The script is the same as that on **2649** and **2659**.

Athenodoros, in his capacity as overseer of Asklepiades's affairs, writes to the *strategos* (of the Herakleopolite nome), complaining that Athenion (who also appears in **2605**) is impeding the collection of grain-taxes from the farmers. He appeals to the *strategos* to intervene and appends a list of the outstanding amounts of grain arranged according to toparchies and kleroi.

[ ±8 ].ι στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων [παρ' 'Αθ]ηνοδώρου φροντιστοῦ 'Ασκληπιάδου τοῦ Διονυσίου · [τοῦ χρό]νου τῆς κατασπορᾶς παρεκτρέχοντος καὶ οἰκει-[ ±5 'Α]θηνίωνος Καίσαρος ἐμποδίζοντος τῆ τῶν [δημοσίων]..... εἰσχορηγήσει, ἐὰν φαίνηται ἐπιστα-]..ον τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπ(ε)ίγοντα τοῖς κατα [λῆναι ]... ὅπως παρὰ μὲν τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κα-[θήκοντα δη]μόσια λάβωσι, τῶν δὲ προστατῶν τῶν ἐισ-] τὰς καθη[κο]ύσας ἀποχὰς πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν εἰς τρ απηναι. είναι δὲ τὸ κατ[.].ισμένα δαμαι 10 ]ς, Περὶ Πόλιν·  $(\pi \nu \rho.)(\mathring{\alpha} \rho \tau.)$  'Αν, κριθῆς  $(\mathring{\alpha} \rho \tau.)$  ρ, ὀλύρ\α/(ς) $(\mathring{\alpha} \rho \tau.)$  Σλ ]υ Μέσης · (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ν, κριθης ((ἀρτ.)) νς, Πτολεμαίου, Πέρα · Ινίου, 'Αγήματος · (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ν, 'Ηρακλείου, Περί Τεχθωι · όλύρα]ς (ἀρτ.) χοε, λαχάνου (ἀρτ.) ρε, ᾿Απολλωνίου, [Πε]ρὶ Βουσίοιν. Περὶ Τι]λῶθιν · (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) υ, κριθῆς (ἀρτ.) φ, ὀλύρας (ἀρτ.) υ, 15 Σαραπίωνος, ]...ν, λαχ\ά/(νου)(ἀρτ.) κ, κριθης (πυροῦ) χ ό\λ/(ύρας) ιε, ὥστ' εἶναι  $(\pi \upsilon \rho.)(\mathring{\alpha} \rho \tau.) \ .] \phi ο ε, κριθ \hat{\eta} \varsigma \ ων \varsigma, \mathring{o} λ \dot{\upsilon} [\rho \alpha] \varsigma \ 'A. ε, λ αχ \dot{\alpha}/(νου) \ \Sigma ν ε.$ Σκα

- 1 στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων: J.G. Whitehorne in: Congr. 16, 427–428, lists nome strategoi holding other offices concurrently with the strategoia. Cf. Oertel, Liturgie 292.
- 2 'Αθ]ηνοδώρου φροντιστοῦ 'Ασκληπιάδου τοῦ Διονυσίου: Cf. **2605** and **2664**. Here we learn the name of Asklepiades's father.
- 4 'A]θηνίωνος: In 2605.6 the same Athenion is φορολόγος. Καίσαρος: Cf. P. Lond. 256a.1 (p. 96) = Wilcken, Chrest. 344.1; P. Lond. II 256d.6, where a certain Faustus, an imperial slave, is likewise involved with the distribution of seed grain to the farmers. Cf. 2605.6 n.

- 5 εἰσχορηγήσει: addendum lexicis.
- 8 l. παρὰ δὲ τῶν προστατῶν: Προσταταὶ γεωργῶν are known from contemporary documents (P. Vindob. Tandem 10.37) whose office is evidently sometimes combined with that of the sitologos (1200.15).
- 8-9 είσ[πρασσόντων]?
- 9–10 είς [ἄσπορον ἐκτρ]απῆναι? Cf. P. Ryl. 133.22, for this expression.
- 10 ι. τὸ κατὰ ⟨τὰ⟩ εἰθισμένα?
- 12 Μέσης: This toparchy is attested in **2438**.22; P. Hels. I 29.35. Cf. Falivene 206. Πέρα: A toparchy; cf. **2432**.15; P. Hels. I 11.11, 14.8, etc.
- 13 'Αγήματος: A toparchy; cf. 2370.37 and P. Hels. I 6.
  Περὶ Τεχθῶι: A heretofore unattested toparchy. In the Ptolemaic era, Techtho lay in the Koites toparchy (cf. P. Hib. I, p. 8, II 218 introd.; 2434.2–13 n. and BGU XIV, p. 222). By the time 2662 was written, Techtho's importance had evidently increased to the extent that it merited becoming government seat for the surrounding district.
- 14 [Πε]ρὶ Βουσῖριν: A toparchy; cf. P. Hels. I 32.4 n.
- 15 Περί Τι]λῶθιν: Cf. **1742**.2, **2438**.55, etc.
- Since some of the data are missing, a precise calculation of the totals given is impossible here. However, as far as the figure for barley is concerned, the sum of 856 artabs is correct (100 + 56 + 500 + 200 = 856).

#### Translation

(To N.N.), strategos and (person) in charge of the taxes, (from) Athenodoros, overseer of Asklepiades, son of Dionysios. Since the time of sowing is soon going to be over and .... Athenion of Caesar's household is hindering the delivery of (state seed grain?), if it so please you, order ... the situation is urgent ... to those (in charge of ...) so that on the one hand they get the tax dues from the farmers, and on the other hand the accustomed receipts from the tax-collecting prostatai, so that nothing be left unsown. These are the customary ...: Peri Polin (toparchy): 1050 artabs of wheat, 100 artabs of barley, 230 artabs of caffre-corn ... Middle (toparchy): 50 artabs of wheat, 56 artabs of barley. (From the) Ptolemaios (kleros). Pera (toparchy): ... Agema (toparchy): 50 artabs of wheat. (From the) Herakleios (kleros). Peri Techthoi (toparchy): ... 675 artabs (of caffre-corn), 105 artabs of vegetable (seed). (From the) Apollonios (kleros). Peri Busirin (toparchy): ... Peri Tilothin (toparchy): 400 artabs of wheat, 500 artabs of barley, 400 artabs of caffre-corn. (From the) Sarapion (kleros) ... 20 artabs of vegetable (seed), 200 of barley and wheat, 15 of caffre-corn. The result is a total of ... 575 artabs of wheat, 856 of barley, 1...5 of caffre-corn, (and) 255 of vegetable (seed).

### 2663 Letter

P. 25271 13.3 x 16.6 cm. Herakleopolites Dec. 19, 9

The papyrus has been cut off and is missing an indeterminate amount from the top. Margins: right: negligible, left 1.2, lower 2.5 cm. *Kollesis* 3.7 cm. from the left. The same hand as that on **2643**. Verso blank.

Although the names of both the epistolographer and addressee are lost, the appearance of Soterichos who is known from the Athenodoros correspondence makes the attribution to this archive almost certain. While the main gist of the letter concerns humdrum details of daily life, one detail sticks out above all the others and particularly piques our curiosity. In lines 9–10 the writer chides his correspondent for not writing him anything about Isis Lochias – and leaves the matter at that.

Although Isis Lochias is not otherwise attested in Egypt, the epithet is not surprising since Isis was revered as protectrice of pregnant women in Egypt since pharaonic times. It would be interesting to know the background story for this admonishment. Was a festival imminent for which preparations had to be made? Or was it a birth that was being anticipated, with propitiations, sacrifices and rituals which had to be/had been performed? Was a separate, entire temple or shrine involved? If so, where was it located? Or was Isis Lochias worshipped as σύνναος θεός with various other deities in one larger temple? – questions to which we will probably never learn the answer.

ήγοῦμαι ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρος Χοιὰχ κδ

<sup>[ ± 9 ]</sup> διὰ ᾿Αδράστου προστάτου Τιλώθεως ἐὰν ..σαι κριθη traces προσήμανόν μοι ὅπως ἑαυτοῖς συντύχωμεν— επε[ ±7 Σωτ]ήριχος μετῆ[λθ]ε ἔσ[τ]αι βουλεῦσαί πως ἐὰν δύνη προ-ἀποστεῖλαί τινα πρὸς ειασερον \τὸν ..λινον / χάριν τῶν ἐδαφῶν τοῦ

<sup>5</sup> οἴκου· ὁ παρ' ἐμὲ ἐγλήμπτωρ ἐπ' ἐμβ[ά]σει ἐστίν· φοβοῦμαι αὐτὸν [ἐ]π⟨ε⟩ὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς αὐτοῦ μισθώσεως· ἡ γὰρ μίσθωσις αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ κβ (ἔτους)· ἔστιν δὲ ἐὰν δύνῃ προαρπάσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ Κερκήν πρὸ τοῦ καὶ —- ...ρον ἀφθῆναι, ἐπεὶ εἰς μέρη μεμίσθωται· περὶ τῆς

<sup>10 &</sup>quot;Ισιδος Λοχιάδος οὐδέν μοι σεσήμανκάς· τί σοι γέγονε πρὸς 'Αντίγονον; τὰ δ' ἄλλα σεα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμελ/(ου) ἴν' ὑγι(αίνῃς) ὃ δὴ μέγι(στον)

- προστάτου: For the προστάτης τῆς κώμης see Oertel, Liturgie 384; P. Meyer, P. Hamb. I 35 introd.
- l. αὐτοῖς.
- 3,7 ἐὰν δύνη: See Gignac, Morphology 384 and 384.1, on this second person singular form.

5 l. ἐκλήμπτωρ. ἐπ' ἐμβ[ά]σει ἐστίν: This expression is probably an idiomatic one here meaning something like "encroaching", "is on our doorstep", or "will soon be upon us" – in other words, "threatening us with his approach or arrival".

8 Κερκήν: So far, the only locale of this name is in the Arsinoite name – unless this is a

heretofore unknown, homonymous village in the Herakleopolite nome.

10 "Ισιδος Λοχιάδος: This epithet is attested for Isis in an inscription published by J. Cormack, Annual of the British School at Athens 41 (1946) 105–106, with ample discussion. In addition to the literature he cites, see J. Bergman, "Isis", LdÄ III 194, and Hopfner, Plutarch, passim, on Isis's function as divine protectrice of child-bearing women; Gr. Kruse, "Locheia", "Lochias", RE 13,1, 946, on this epithet and related words; S.G. Cole, ZPE 55 (1984) 243. 62, on the epithets "Lochia" and "Eulochia;" J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3642.16 n.

See G. Fecht, Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur (= Ägyptologische Forschungen 21), Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1960, 106 § 200 and nn. 330, 331, and Cormack, *op. cit.*, 106, on a similar formation: Isis Mochias.

Lochias was also the name of a promontory on the eastern side of Alexandria's greater port. Cf. Fraser I 22–23, II 60–61; Calderini, Dizionario I,1, 126–127.

l. σεσήμαγκας: Mayser I,2, p. 194, notes the same perfect stem in the roughly contemporary **1848**.18, **1874**.14. Cf. Jannaris, p. 275 s.v.

### Translation

... through Adrastos, *prostates*. If ..., let me know in advance so that we may meet up with them. Since (?) ... Soterichos has arrived, it will be possible to plan – provided you are able – how one may dispatch someone in advance to ... the ... for the house's foundations. My contractor is on (our) doorstep. I am afraid of him, since the (allotted) time for his rent contract has expired – his rent contract was valid until the 22nd year. It is possible – if you are able – to anticipate him and to seize the ... near Kerke, since he has (only) rented it in part. About Isis Lochias you have told me nothing! How is the situation between you and Antigonos? Otherwise, take care of yourself – that is our greatest concern. Farewell! Year 22 of Caesar, Choiach 24.

### 2664 Letter

P. 25287 13.5 x 14.7 cm. Herakleopolites July 11, 4

The papyrus is broken off along the top. Margins: left: 2.5, right: negligible, lower: 8 cm. Same hand as **2613** and **2645**. Verso blank.

The entire document (what little is preserved) seems to be a *brouillon* or idle jotting, consisting of nothing more than a run-of-the-mill epistolary opening formula

immediately succeeded by a just as banal salutatory formula. The sole interest of this scrap lies in the fact that it once again attests Athenodoros as manager of Asklepiades's affairs in the Herakleopolite nome, this time with a definite date; cf. 2605 and 2662.

- 1-2 l. ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν Ἡρακ[λεοπολίτου? preceded by the name and title of a nome official?
- 3 ᾿Αθηνόδωρος φροντιστής: If, in fact, a nome official is writing to Athenodoros then one should read ᾿Αθηνοδώρω φροντιστῆ. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the official's sole purpose in writing Athenodoros was to wish his correspondent good health. Hence, one is probably justified in leaving the text just as it is a pastiche of epistolary formulae.

#### Translation

... of the (Herakleopolite nome above) Memphis (?) ... Athenodoros, overseer of the affairs of Asklepiades in the Herakleopolite (nome) many greetings. Above all take care of yourself so that you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 26 of Caesar, Epeiph 17.

### 2665 Letter

P. 25155 24.8 x 13.8 cm. Herakleopolites 28/27

Margins: upper 1.5 (originally 4 cm., before the last four lines were added, left 2.5, right 1.5–3.5 cm. *Kollesis* 3 cm. from the right edge. The papyrus has been cut off at the bottom. The writing is the same as that on **1209** – reproduced in Schubart, Abb. 23.

Tryphaina writes to her son, Asklepiades, reporting on the condition of various fields some of which were either only partially flooded or else not at all. Since their flooding and covering with the rich Nile silt was prerequisite for a good harvest, Tryphaina fears imminent financial ruin. She momentarily digresses from these matters to discuss some articles of clothing, but soon she returns to the more pressing agricultural matters.

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This letter does not belong to the Athenodoros archive but to a smaller, private archive of letters published as **1203–1209** = Olsson, nos. 1–7.

- 19 τοιοῦτο ἔτος ἀπολλῶς ἀδελφὸς
- 20 ἀδ[ε]λφὸν ... πεπομφ.[]... τὰ αὐτ[..]
- 21 'Αφροδ[..] ἵν[α] μὴ ἀκούῃ πε[ρὶ] τῶν .[
- 22 ..οκότων . ιρ\ω/( ) καὶ τῶι ἀδε\λ/(φῶι) [διὰ τῶν]. \ἐπ[ι]βλημα/[
  Τρύφαινα 'Ασκληπίαδηι τῶι υἱῶι ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους) γ Καίσ(αρος)
  [χαίρειν] καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν
  [.]... [λ]αβὼν τὸ παρά σου γράμμα τῆι ις [ἐ]ὰν περὶ "Ογου κλῆρος ὁ Αγελάου
- 5 [τὸ] ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ βρεχήσετα[ι], ἔως τούτου [ὁ] δὲ [πε]ρὶ Μοῦχιν οὕπω [β] έβρεκται, χειρῶ-[μ]αι καὶ οἱ χαλκοῖ δεδαπα[ν]ημένοι εἰς τὰ χώματα πάντων · ὑ[π]ὲρ δὲ ὧν [ἔγρ]αφες τιμη⟨τό⟩τερα ἐνταῦθα · ὁ θανά-
- 10 σιμ[ος ...]λυβε καὶ οὔπω τιμὴ ἔσταται ἐνκοίμητρα μοι β σανδύκινα λεπ[τὰ] κεκροσμένα καὶ ὑγι.ι[..] μειρακ[ίου] καὶ ⟨αὐ⟩τῆς μὴ ἀμελήσης [..].ε [ ...[...π]εμψον·τὸ ὑπόδημ[ά] σοι
- 15 ἀ[ν]τ[έπε]μψα δι' 'Απολλλώ/(τος)· αὶ τριάκοντα ἄρουραι αὶ περὶ Νῶιν βεβρεγμέναι εἰσί· τὸν περὶ Ταλὴ κλῆρον μὴ μισθώσηις ἀλλὰ ἀπόλαυον ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὰ τὴν χρῆσιν

vso: ]τη[ (parallel to the fibers)

1 Τρύφαινα: This is Tryphaina's first appearance in this correspondence. Until now we knew the names of her four children: Asklepiades, Petechon, Isidora and Paniskos.

3 Ι. λαβοῦσα.

τὸ ... γράμμα: Cf. the same wording in **1209**.3. The plural τὰ ... γράμματα is more common: **1204**.3, **1205**.6. The singular also in **2645**.7

4 "Ογου: This village is also attested in **2436**.3, SPP X 204.4; cf. Calderini-Daris, Dizionario s.v.

κλῆρος ὁ Αγελάου: A parcel named after Agelaos is also attested in 1828.9.

5 l. βρεχήσεται: Cf. Gignac, Morphology 314.2, on this form; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Antike Wasserkultur, Munich 1990, on this topic.

β l. πάντως?

9–10 θανάσιμ[ος: Cf. O. Montevecchi in: Miscellanea Papyrologica (= P. Flor. XIX), vol. II, Florence 1990, 443–449, on adjectives in -σιμος.

10-11 In **1204**.10-11, written on October 2, 28 B.C., Isidora, the sister of Asklepiades, writes to her brother, requesting him to send her a blanket. Three weeks later (in **1205**) she

writes that she has sent him 120 drachmas for the blanket, although it is not worth more than 5 drachmas. Even if the correspondent here is Tryphaina, the business could still be about the same blanket.

11 *l.* ἐγκοιμήτρων: Coming just after the mention of a deathly sick person (ὁ θανάσιμος), this word could be construed as a misspelling of ἐγκοιμητήριον or κοιμητήριον. Hence, one might want to interpret the sentence: "and the price for the burial has not yet been established". Since, however, much of the correspondence in this archive relates to matters regarding blankets and other textiles (1204.10, 1205.19–24, 1207.5–7), the word here is probably best left unemended.

l. σανδυκίνων: See Olsson, no. 5.6 n; R. Eisler, Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt, Munich 1910, 167.2, on the etymology and related word formations.

l. λεπ[τῶν] κεκρουσμένων: Forbes IV *passim* describes textile manufacture in which the raw materials are often beaten.

12 ὑγιδί[ων]?, ὑδκ.ι[? μετρακ[ίου]: In 1204.11 and 1205.25 a child, Artemas, is mentioned.

13 Another possibility is to emend to καὶ τῆς τιμῆς μὴ ἀμελήσης.

16 Nωιν: A village, otherwise attested only in 2370.5, 2420.6?. Cf. 2425.7,27: Νωίτης.

17 Ταλή: See P. Hibeh 36.3 n. on the orthography of this village name.

19–22 These four concluding lines were inserted into the upper margin with a slight indentation to the right.

#### Translation

Tryphaina to her son, Asklepiades, (greetings) and continual health ... I received your letter on the 16th. If Agelaos's kleros near Ogu has been only half flooded and the kleros near Muchis so far not flooded at all, then I am totally ruined – along with the money on loan for the dams. The things which you wrote about are worth more here. The deathly sick .... and the price of two fine, red, beaten blankets and the child's ... has not yet been established. Don't forget the price .... I sent your shoe back with Apollos. The thirty aruras near Nois have been flooded. You should not rent out the tract near Tale but rather use it yourself .... Farewell. Year 3 of Caesar ....

### **2666 Private Account**

P. 25299 9.7 x 11.2 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: left 2.7, upper 3.3. The papyrus is broken off on the right and bottom. This unassuming scrap of papyrus is important for two reasons: it lists Athenodoros's possessions or provisions in Alexandria, among which is a store of Kalymnian wheat – a commodity otherwise unattested in the Greek papyri from Roman Egypt.

λόγος πρὸς 'Αθην[όδωρον ἔγεις ἐν 'Αλεχανδρεία [

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πυροῦ Καλυμνίου μ\ε/( ) ερ\μ./( ) ρι ἄλλας ὁμ\ο/(ίως) μ\ε/() ερ\μ./() οδ .... ρι μέλιτος .... β χ\η/( )

3 ερ. αL

3 Καλυμνίου: Cf. Pape s.ν. Κάλυμνα, citing the Etym. Magnum (486.25): κάλυμνος· ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σῖτος· ἀντὶ τοῦ καλίμνιος. ὁ γὰρ Φιλάδελφος ἐκ Καλυνδῶν μετήνεγκε τὸ σπέρμα. Kalymnian wheat is not otherwise attested in the Greek papyri from Egypt. Whereas the island's honey enjoyed wide repute, its wheat seems otherwise to have drawn no attention. Cf. Bürchner, "Kalydna", RE X,2, 1762, id., "Kalymna", RE X,2, 1768.

μ\έ/(τρφ) Έρ\μου/?: Cf. 1142.7, where the Hermes-measure for wheat appears in an Alexandrian contract. Whether it is the correct resolution of these abbreviations is, of

course, a moot question.

 $\dot{\alpha}$ (): non liquet. Alpha with a Hakenalpha above is not easily explicated. Presumably it is the abbreviation of a container, and its gender is feminine – since in the next line there is a similar entry preceded by  $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  – other (such jars or vessels?)

 $\chi \eta / ()$ : non liquet.

#### Translation

Account for Athenodoros .... You have in Alexandria ... 110 ... of Kalymnian wheat in the Hermes-measure (?); similarly, another 110 ... in the Hermes-measure (?); ... of honey ....

### 2667 Private Account

P. 25249 24 x 10.8 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 2.5, left 3.5, right: variable, lower: 8.7 cm. Between lines 5 and 6 is a space of 4 cm. *Kollesis* on the right edge. The same script as **2605**, **2614**, etc. (see **2605** introd.). Verso blank.

This account records goods (comestibles) received from Athenodoros.

παρ' 'Αθηνοδώρου
μέλιτος κεράμια γ
οἴνου ἡμι\κ/(άδια) ι
ἀλέκτορες ι
5 χοίρους ε
παρ' 'Αθηνοδώρου
οἴνου διπλᾶ β
χ\οί/(νικες) β
σεμι\δ/(αλîται)χ\ί/(λιαι)

- 2 μέλιτος: Cf. 2600.1 n. κεράμια: Cf. Fleischer 19–29; B. Kramer, CPR XVIII, p. 140.419–421, citing bibliography.
- 3 οἴνου: On wine production see Forbes III 70ff.; on various designations for wine, N. Kruit, ZPE 90 (1992) 267–268. ἡμινκ/(άδια): Cf. Sandys 10.46 n.; Fleischer 14–15; J. Rea, ZPE 99 (1993) 86–87.
- 5 Cf. 2661.20 n.
- 7 διπλα: Cf. Fleischer 12, where the earliest reference dates to 143 A.D.
- 8 χοί/(νικες): Cf. B. Kramer, CPR XVIII, p. 38.125 and p. 140.419–421, citing bibliography.
- 9 σεμινδ/(αλίται) scil. ἄρτοι: Cf. Battaglia, Artos 86.
- This seems to be either a damaged or else half-written and then abandoned *alpha* with a curlicue at the top representing the number 1,000.

#### Translation

From Athenodoros: 3 keramia of honey, 10 hemikadia of wine, 10 roosters, 5 piglets.

From Athenodoros: 2 dipla of wine, 2 choinikes (of wine); one thousand white breads, 1,000.

# 2668 Private Account

P. 25381 12.5 x 12 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 2.5, left 2.5, right 4.5–6. The same script as **2605**, **2614**, etc. (see **2605** introd.). Verso blank.

This account records sums of money and amounts of goods (comestibles) as noted by a certain Pappion who here makes his sole appearance in the archive of Athenodoros.

ὑπόμν\η/(μα) Παππίωνος (τάλαντα) ε περὶ vacat /περὶ (πυροῦ)(ἀρταβῶν) (μυριάδων) κρομμύων (ἀρτ.) ι μέλιτος χ\οί/(νικες)  $/\phi\alpha\kappa/(o\hat{\upsilon})$ μόσχ\ε/(υμάτων) ύιήας ό\μ/(οίως) σησάμου (άρτ.) 10 μελανθίου α κορίου ξηρ(οῦ) ἄμεως

μαράθου

2 Z 3 7. 4 - 11 typ-

- 2 Either the scribe simply forgot to note the product being registered here or else the sum of money expresses the amount paid for the following list of wares and comestibles.
- 3 Pap. M\(\alpha\)/ = (μυριάδων): See Wm. Brashear, ZPE 60 (1985) 239–242, and M. Hasitzka, Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht, Vienna 1990, 233–234, on the various forms of the myriad-symbol.
- 4 κρομμύων: Cf. P. Derchain, "Zwiebel", LdÄ VI 1435–1436. Besides being a main staple of the Egyptian diet since time immemorial, the onion was an important ingredient in Egyptian medicine as was the case with most of the plants mentioned in this account; cf. Marganne 269, 285; R. Germer, Unters. über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten, Diss. Hamburg 1979, 375, 377, 379; W. Till, Die Arzneikunde der Kopten, Berlin 1951, 104.
- 6 φα\κ/(οῦ): On its economic value see Schnebel 191; on its medicinal value Marganne 204, 242; Germer, *op. cit.*, 215, 229, 278; Till, *op. cit.* 82.
- 7 μόσχ\ε/(υμάτων): Cf. Schnebel 305.
- 8 *l.* ὑείας: Apparently the adjective instead of the substantive ὑς. Cf. **2661**.20 n.
- 9 σησάμου: Cf. Schnebel 198; Sandys 55–71; Marganne 197; Germer, *op. cit.* 198, 284; Till, *op. cit.* 95.
- 10 μελανθίου: Cf. Schnebel 205, 360; W. Helck, "Gewürze", LdÄ II 594–595; Marganne 241; Germer, *op. cit.* 46, 102, 183, 255, 278; Till, *op. cit.* 71.
- 11 κορίου ξηρ(οῦ): Cf. Schnebel 207; Helck, op. cit.; Marganne 81, 174, 248; Germer, op. cit. 315.
- 12 ἄμεως: Cf. Schnebel 360; Marganne 241, 271.
- 13 μαράθου: Cf. Olck, "Fenchel", RE VI,2, 2172–2177; Marganne, *passim*; Germer, *op. cit.* 265, 328; Till, *op. cit.* 56.

#### Translation

Pappion's memorandum: for ..., 5 talents; 10,000 artabs of wheat; 10 artabs of onions; 100 *choinices* of honey; 300 (*choinices*) of lentils; ... plant sets; similarly ... pigs; 5 artabs of sesame; 1 (artab) of black cumin; 5 (artabs) of dried coriander; 5 (artabs) of cumin; 5 (artabs) of fennel ....

# **2669 Inventory List**

P. 25382 Herakleopolites

One fragment measures 27 x 12.5 cm. and preserves a vertical *kollesis* running down the middle. Margins: left 6 cm., upper 3.5 cm. Broken off on the right and bottom. Another fragment measures 26.5 x 27.5 cm. with a vertical *kollesis* 9.5 cm. from the right edge and *ca*. 15 cm. further to the left of the *kollesis* a light patch on the left edge of the papyrus indicating where another *kollesis* may once have been. Margins: upper 3–4 cm., right 1.3 cm., lower 2 cm. (col. I), 3 cm. (col. II), 19.5 cm.

(col. III). The relationship of the two fragments to each other is difficult to ascertain. The larger fagment seems to preserve both the beginning (with the heading in lines 1–4) and the end (Col. III which ends high up on the sheet). The smaller fragment whose contours give the deceptive impression of joining onto the left of the larger fragment, apparently does not belong here at all but somewhere else. No ready solution offers itself. Verso blank.

The present inventory list preserves an account of clothes, vessels and other objects of use in daily life and offers little to distinguish itself from the many others like it preserved on the papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt. Similar lists are PUG II 56; SPP XX 67 = M. David, Papyrological Primer, Leiden 1965, no. 87. See in general: T. Reekmans, "Treasure-Trove and Parapherna", in: Le monde grec. Hommages à Cl. Préaux, Brussels 1975, 748–759; D. Hagedorn, P. Hamb. 223 introd.

Co	ol. I			Col. II	
	ἀνα[γ]ρ\α/(φὴ) σκεύων αρ	ονπ\ω/()		φανὸς χαλκοῦς	
	έν τῆι έ[ν] τῶι ὅρμωι οἰ\κ/	•		κιβώ[τι]ον ξυλίνηι	
	έπὶ τῶι Φῦς		20	έν ἡ γυναικεῖα	
	έν οἰκίσκωι			π[]ολικον ξύλινον	
5	κλ{ε}ίναι	β		[ξ]έστης ἄλλης ἀρυτ(αιν-)	
	[]ιον σα $\bar{\mu}$ ( )	α		τῦλη [] σαλσημαι	α
	τῦλαι	β		λήκυ[θο]ς ξενι\κ/(ὴ) δερμ[α]τί	ίν(η)
	στρωματεύς	α	25	λεβητάρι(ο)ν χαλ\κ/(οῦν)	α
	ὑπαγκ\ώ/(νια) φαιὰ	[γ] δ		χερνίβι(ο)ν παλαι\ον/	α
10	[κίσσινον] \πράσινον/	α		δίφρος γυναι\κ/(εῖος) ἄλλη ξυλ	ı\κ/( )
	λίνα	γ		Βησις κασσιτερίνη	α
	ἐνειλήμμ λινᾶ	β		[λ[].ις ὁμοί\ω/(ς) κασσιτερι]	1
	παλαιὸν ἀπαγκ\ώ/(νιον) λιν	•	30	λω. [νος στυππύιναι]	•
	ξεστῶν ζεύγη	β		<b>χ[ ]. γύναι\κ/() χαλκ\/()</b>	α
15	κάμπτρα			].	].
	\κάμπτρα/ καὶ κύλιος [			[ ]υ\γ/( )	α
	συμψίλιον [	α		7 1117	
	Col. III			Col. IV	
	ἔργα κίτων\ο/(ς) λευκοῦ γι	ນດາ(ຮະເດ	))	έν ίματιοφορίδι δερματίνη	
35	έν ίματιοφόριν δερματίνη		,,	αργυρο γυναι\κ/(ει-) φαιὰ	α
55	ποτηρί\ω/(ν) χαλκ\ω/(ν) ζ		40	Συριακὸν ἱμάτιον	O.
	κύαθος χαλκοῦς α	conog a	10	λακέρνιον παιδικόν	α
	Koaoos Kankoos a			μ.λιον ἀναβολάδιον	α
				[]\λευκὰ/ παιδικὰ	β
				.[ ].	α
				·r ]·	C.

- 1 αρνπ\ω/(): Although the reading seems relatively certain, the interpretation remains obscure.
- 2 ἐ[v] τῶι ὅρμωι: The harbor of Herakleopolis, which seems to have been a relatively autonomous district, is well attested in the papyri. See Calderini-Daris, Dizionario II,3, pp. 219, 222: s.v. Ἡρακλεοπολίτης; D. Hagedorn, P. Mon. III 53.2 n.; R. Duttenhöfer, P. Heid. VI 363.2 n.
- 3 τῶι Φῦς: See Calderini-Daris, Dizionario s.v. and Supplement I, s.v. on the village Phys; and **2611**.6 n., on place names with the article.
- 4 οἰκίσκω: See G. Husson, Oikia, Paris 1983, 209, discussing the one papyrological attestation of this word (P. Berl. Zilliacus 4.6).
- 5 *l.* κλίναι: Cf. Peterson 254ff. *passim*, 274f.
- 9 ὑπαγκ\ώ/(νια): Cf. A. Leone, Aegyptus 63 (1983) 38–39, noting its first occurrence in the documentary papyri.
- 10 πράσινον: See E. Zwierlein-Diehl, Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen des Instituts f. Altertumskunde der Univ. zu Köln (= Papyrologica Coloniensia 20), Opladen 1992, 43–47, discussing related words.
- 12 Ι. ἐνειλήματα.
- 13 παλαιόν: Cf. J. Diethart, Analecta Papyrologica 2 (1990) 93.
- 16 Ι. γύλιος.
- 17 l. συμψέλλιον = subsellium. G. Godron, BSAC 25 (1983) 33, lists different orthographies in Greek and Coptic. Cf. Peterson 254, 274.10.
- 19 *l*. ξύλινον.
- 20 γυναικεία: Cf. Z. Packman, BASP 25 (1988) 137-148, on this and similar adjectives.
- 22 *l.* ξέστης ἄλλος ἀρυτ(ήρ). Since both words mean different types of cups, the interpretation of the line is difficult. Pap. αρυτ
- 24 Ραρ. δερμ[α]τιν
- 27 δίφρος: Cf. Peterson 256.18.
- 28 Βῆσις κασσιτερίνη: Cf. SPP XX 67.4,17: Βήσιον κασσιτέρινον; and F. Burkhalter, ZPE 59 (1985) 132.20, who interprets this as a cup, and not as a statuette of Bes.
- 30 λύχνος?
- 34 ἔργα: LSJ s.v. cites Iliad 6.289, Odyssey 7.97: ἔργα γυναικῶν. L. χιτῶνο(ς). λευκοῦ: Horizontal stroke over the *epsilon* and *upsilon*.
- 35 Ι. ἐν ἱματιοφορίω δερματίνω οτ ἐν ἱματιοφορίδι δερματίνη.
- 36 *l*. ζεῦγος.
- 40 Συριακόν: J. Diethart, Tyche 2 (1987) 9–10, lists adjectives derived from place names as they appear in connection with non-Egyptian, imported textiles. This one does not appear in his list.
- 42 ἀναβολάδιον: Cf. P. Oxy. 921.27 and LSJ s.v.

#### Translation

List of furnishings ... in the house in the harbor in the (village of) Phys. In a room: 2 couches, 1 ..., 2 cushions, 1 bedspread, 4 grey elbow cushions, 1 green one, 3 linen garments, 2 linen wrappings, 1 old linen elbow cushion, 2 pairs of cups, 1 chest, a chest and a wallet, 1 bench, a bronze torch, a wooden chest in which there are women's clothes, a wooden ..., another cup – a cup, 1 ... cushion, a foreign skin vessel, 1 bronze vase, 1 old basin, another wooden woman's stool, a tin statue of Bes, a ... likewise of tin, tow ..., 1 bronze woman's ..., (col. III) a woman's white tunic in a leather clotheschest, 1 pair of bronze goblets, 1 bronze ladle. (Col. IV) In a leather clothes-chest: 1 grey woman's ..., a Syrian tunic, 1 child's cloak, 1 ... mantle, 2 white children's ..., 1 ...

### 2670 Official Account

P. 25383 41 x 15 cm. Herakleopolites *ca.* 14/13

Upper margin: 3.5 cm.; broken off on the other three sides. Two vertical *kolleseis* 17 cm. apart from each other. Traces of four columns of writing in the same script as **2595**. Verso blank.

The present account is apparently official, since it lists monetary income from individuals and groups of workers or artisans in various localities in the Herakleopolite nome. One item of special interest: an official named Lupus was evidently making an inspection tour of the province (II 1: εἰς παρουσίαν Λ⟨ο⟩ύπου). The amounts of money recorded in the ensuing lines indicate the income received which was supposedly used to defray the cost of provisioning him. Alongside individual persons paying money, also such commercial groups as sheep-herding Arabs (II 2), leather workers (II 4), coppersmiths (II 6), linen weavers (III 6), and beer brewers (I 2) are named. Even a sitologos (III 5) is recorded as a contributor. The list is arranged according to toparchies (II 1, III 9) with presumably the name of the toparchy preceding the village name, Thmoiamunis, in III 1.

Col. I

]. τῶι ἱερῶι ἐν ε..., ]λλνω/( ) Ἡρακλείνδ/() ζυτοπ[..] ρν, ] vacat, ] traces, etc. 1 1/2 cm. further down are more illegible traces.

Col. II

Περὶ Τεκμί· αἱ σημαινό\μ/(εναι) δεδόσθαι εἰς παρουσίαν Λ<br/>ο⟩ύπου (δρ.)  $\rho\theta \ (\delta \upsilon \delta \beta ο \lambda ο \iota)$ 

Φαινίππου· παρὰ τῶν ᾿Αράβων χάριν νομῆς προβ\ά/(των) [(δρ.)] ιζ (ἔτους) (δρ.) Σ

[.....]  $(\delta \rho.) \zeta \kappa \alpha i \pi \delta \kappa \omega v$  ie i $\zeta$  (ξτους)  $(\delta \rho.) \xi \cdot \kappa \alpha i \lambda [\alpha] \chi / (\alpha v o v) \kappa \rho i \theta \sqrt{\eta} / (\varsigma)$   $(\delta \rho.) \delta \alpha \lambda / - (\lambda \alpha i) \delta (\gamma i v.) \eta$ 

 $[.....]_{\varsigma} \text{ oἴvou ἡμικ\'α/(δίων) β (δρ.) η ἄλλ/(λαι) (δρ.) δ· σκυ[τέ]ων κόσμ'ου/ ὄν'νου/ (δρ.) κη$ 

5 [.....] 'Απολλ'ω/() Θεοδώρου καὶ ..[...]χράτου (δρ.) ιβ (γίν.) (δρ.) χκε (δυόβολοι)

[.....] .....λλ\ω/( ) χαλκοτύπων α....[ ] (δρ.) . [.......] καὶ Μηνοκράτου Δημάρ\χ/(ου) καὶ ᾿Απολλ\ω/( ) (δρ.) .

....ντωτος· (δρ.) ρ

Ήρακλείου [κ]αὶ 'Αβώτου συντίμησιν (δρ.) .

10 Κλεο.... traces

181

### Col. III

..... Θμοιαμούνεως · παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ traces λαχάνου (ἀρτ.) λε. (δρ.) Σμ 'Απολλωνίου ... (δρ.) π K.....[....]. (ἤμισεως) (δρ.) υ 5 traces λλίπου Διομήδους σιτολόγλου/ (δρ.) Σ traces [λ]ινυφων ρι traces .π.λλίωνος (δρ.) μ ι]ζ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως π[α]ρὰ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ... (γὶν.) τό\π/(ου) 'Αρλ 10 ]...[ ...[

#### Col. IV

[].[, παρὰ ᾿Αρτέμω[νος, Ἡρακλείδ.[, break of three lines, then ᾿Αρείου [

separate fragment: ]ενης οιν[

\_\_\_\_\_

II 1 et passim 
$$S = \delta \rho \alpha \chi \mu \alpha i$$
 II 1,5 = ευόβολοι II 3,5, III 9  $\int = \gamma i \nu c \tau \alpha i$ 
II  $S \leftarrow = \delta \rho \alpha \chi \mu \alpha i$  III 2 =  $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1$ 

### Col. I

ζυτοπ[οι-]: See H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 82ff.

#### Col. II

περὶ Τεκμί: A toparchy in the Herakleopolite nome already attested in Ptolemaic times; cf. 2437.1; P. Hels. I 24.6; BGU XIV, pp. 220f.; Falivene 205.
αί σημαινό\μ/(εναι) scil. δραγμαί.

παρουσίαν: A common terminus technicus used for designating the prefect's conventus – as well as the visit of any distinguished personage; see 2211 introd.; Horsley, NDIEC I, p. 46; N. Lewis, BASP 18 (1981) 119–129; T. Carp, P. Oxy. 3357.8 n. A. Niederstätter, Ante Portas. Herrscherbesuche am Bodensee 839–1507, Konstanz 1993, while discussing more modern parallels, nonetheless presents a vivid picture of what such visits must have entailed in antiquity.

 $\Lambda$ (ο)ύπου: In **2602**.6 a certain Lupus, *strategos* (of the Herakleopolite nome?), is mentioned (cf. **2595**.7 n.). Presumably this is the same personage for whose tour of the nome this income is being calculated.

2 Φαινίππου: Obviously a village name, since it is subsumed under the heading of the Peri Tekmi toparchy and succeeded by an occupational group. The name has the archaic ring of a Ptolemaic large-landowner's name which in the course of time became permanently associated with the territory involved. See F. Zucker, "Beobachtungen zu den permanenten Klerosnamen", in: Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Fr. Oertel ... gewidmet, Bonn 1964, 101–106.

'Aράβων: Calderini, Dizionario I,2, pp. 188–190, and M. Abd-el-Ghany in: Egitto e storia antica 233–242, discuss Arabs in the Greek papyri. Often they were shepherds – as is the

case here, where they have paid 200 drachmas for the right to graze their sheep (cf. **2654** introd.). Cf. F. Altheim, R. Stadelmann, "Araber in Ägypten", LdÄ I 359–360.

2, 3 L = (ἔτους).

κόσμ\ου/ ὄν\ου/: See G. Nachtergael, CdE 64 (1989) 287–336, discussing beasts of burden and their equipment. The accompanying illustrations vividly depict their often decorative trappings.

#### Col. III

- 9μοιαμούνεως: (Presumably the toparchy preceded the village name, but the papyrus is too shredded and abraded to entertain any hopes of retrieving the name.) This village is attested from the second to the eighth centuries, according to Calderini-Daris, Dizionario.
- 8 L = (ἔτους).

### Translation

(From the) Peri Tekmi (toparchy). Amounts of drachmas indicated to have been given for the advent of Lupus: 109 drachmas, 2 obols.

From Phainippos. From the Arabs for the right of pasturing their sheep in the 17th year (of Augustus), 200 drachmas. From ... 7 dr. From 15 fleeces in the 17th year, 60 dr. For vegetables (and) barley, 4 dr. Another 4 (dr.). From ... for 2 (?) hemikadia of wine, 8 dr. Another 4 dr. From leather workers for the outfit of a donkey, 28 dr. ... from Apollo-, son of Theodoros and from -chrates, 12 dr. Total 625 dr., 2 obols. From ... -llo-, from coppersmiths ... dr. (From) ... and Menokrates, son of Demarchos and Apollo-, ... dr. From -ntos, 100 dr. From Herakleios and Abotos, for a valuation, ... dr. From Kleo-... (Col. III) (From the ... toparchy). From Thmoiamunis. From the ... from 35 ... artabs of vegetables, 140 dr. From Apollonios ..., 80 dr. From K-, for ... 400 dr. From -llipos, son of Diomedes, sitologos, 200 dr. From the linen weavers, 110. From -llion, 40 dr. In the 17th year. Similarly, from the same. Total for the toparchy, 1130 (drachmas).

### 2671 Account

P. 25300 22.7 x 27 cm. Herakleopolites

Margins: upper 2 cm., left 1.5–2.5 cm., lower (col. I) 2.5 cm., (col. III) 3 cm. Verso blank.

Although the present document seems to be a private person's account it nonetheless records various payments to higher and lower government officials, priests, policemen, and soldiers, as well as musicians, etc.

Col. I

ἄλλος λόγος δαπ\ά/(νης) κοιν\ῆ/(ς) ὑποκειμέν\ω/(ν) Τρύ[.]φωνι ὡς εἰς βιβλιοθ\ή/(κην)

```
/δι' 'Αντιγόνωι
                                        (\delta \rho.) \phi
     ποτηρίων καὶ ἡμικυ(τυλῶν) (δρ.) τμ
    [..]ουθδ\α/( )
                                        (\delta \rho.) \xi \gamma
     /..... 'Αλεξάνδρ\η/( ) παιδ\α/(ρί-)
                                        Σ
                        'Απελλᾶ
     λεμησᾶ κορκο\δ/(ίλου)
                                        οβ
     ὑποκε[ι]μέν\ω/(ν) ἐξηγ\η/(τῆ) ρμδ
10 καθήκον [..]\[\o/() τῶν (δρ.) ρμδ (δρ.) ζ (τριώβολον)
     / κιστῶν
                                          (\delta \rho.) \iota \beta
     / traces
                                          η
     traces
                                          η
     [ ].... Παρνασσ\ω/( )
15 /\delta(\iota') ἀρουρῶν καὶ ἡμιλι\/() δ
     / traces
     [μέ]λιτος ώφελι δ[..]
     ἐπιβλήματος διέδρ(ου)
                                        . (τριώβολον)
20 Κογκινο κιθαρφδῶι
                                        (\delta \rho.) \beta
     στάτορι Φαύστου
                                        (\delta \rho.) \eta
     ίερεῦσι Με(σ)τασύτμι\ο/(ς)
                                        (\delta \rho.) \eta
                                        (\delta \rho.) \delta
     / .[..].σοπ(ο)ιοῖς
     [...]
     Col. II
25 μαχαιροφόροις Τείρ\ω/(νος) ἐπιστρ\α/(τήγου) (δρ.) [
     ίερεῦσι Σούχου
                                        (\delta \rho.) \eta
     ὑπ\η/(ρέτη) ἐπιστρατήγου ὑ\π/(ὲρ)
     ἐπιστάσεως λινύφ\ω/(ν)
                                        (\delta \rho.) \delta
     ὑπ\η/(ρέτη) 'Απελλ\α/ δι' 'Ηρακλ\α/()
                                        (δρ.) ς
     οἴνου κεραμί\ω/(ν) β
     τῶι (αὐτῶι)
                                        (\delta \rho.) \delta
     ίερεῦσι "Ισιδ[ος κ]αὶ [.]ρ[
     στρατιώτηι 'Ωρείωνος
                                        (\delta \rho.).[
     τιμ\\hat{\eta}/(\varsigma) ..[
                        traces of 3 lines
                        spatium
```

38 (γίν.) 'Αωιθ (τετρώβολον)

```
Col. III
```

είς .....

40 τῆς Ἡρακλείδ/(ου) μερίδ/(ος) (γίν.)[ μητροπόλεως Α[

4 ἡμικα(δίων)?, ἡμικο(τυλῶν)?

5,7 [..]  $ov\theta\delta \alpha/()$ : non liquet.

6-7 "To N. N., son of Alexandros, for a slave, Apellas" is just one of several possibilities for interpreting this entry.

παιδ/α/(ρί-): See J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3960.28 n., summarizing the status questionis on the

interpretation of this and similar words.

- 8 λεμησῷ κορκολδ/(ίλου): "Priest of the crocodile" (god, i.e. Souchos). This sacerdotal title, lemusos, also appears in SB I 1007.7, P. Tebt. I 122.1 and P. Soknobr. 2.53 (= YCS 10 [1947] 215ff.). F. de Cenival, Les associations religieuses en Egypte, Cairo 1972, 161–162, after discussing the Egyptian etymology summarizes: "le titre mr ms' désigne bien, à l'époque lagide et romaine, un personnage appartenant à la hiérarchie militaire, et cumulant des fonction de prêtres et d'administrateur d'un temple avec des fonctions militaires ou policières". Cf. A. Farid, RdE 41 (1990) 60f. (both ref. thanks to K.-Th. Zauzich); P. Pestman in: P. Mil. Vogl. III, p. 185; U. Luft, Studia Aegyptiaca 14 (1992) 407; J.-L. Fournet, "Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien", Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 84 (1989) 70; R. Dostálová, Listy fil. 114 (1991) 102f. (non vidi); R. Pintaudi, P. Laur. II (= P. Flor. II) 33.3 n. The enigmatic entries in P. Brooklyn 22.10 (λιμμ[) and 28 (σῦν λιμμεῦσι) are undoubtedly variant spellings of the same word.
- 9 ἐξηγη(τῆ): See B. Kraut, ZPE 55 (1984) 167ff.
- 14 Παρνασσ\ω/(ν)?: addendum onomasticis.
- 15 ἡμιλι\/(): ἡμιλίτριον seems an unusual entry here next to aruras.
- 18 Ι. μέλι ὀφείλειται.
- l. Κογχινος? addendum onomasticis?
  κιθαρφδῶι: The word is rare in the papyri: P. Cair. Zen. I 59087.16,23; P. Oxy. 2476.19,25; 2682.22; SB XIV 12124.1–2. Cf. on music and musicians in ancient Egypt: L. Manniche, Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt 1991; ead., Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments (= Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 34), Munich-Berlin 1975; C. Ziegler, Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens, Paris 1979; in Hellenistic Egypt: W. Westermann, JEA 18 (1932) 16–27; J. Lindsay, Daily Life in Roman Egypt, London 1963; id., Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt, London 1965; H. Wiemken, Der griechische Mimus, Bremen 1972, 207f.; R. Pack, The Greek and Latin Literary Texts, Ann Arbor 1965, nos. 2438–2445; P. Oxy. 3161, 3162, 3704, 3705; W. Cockle, Congr. 14, 50–65; A. Bélis, ZPE 72 (1988) 53–63; M. Haslam, ZPE 75 (1988) 139–140; M. West, ZPE 92 (1992) 209ff.; H.-A. Rupprecht, Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde, Darmstadt 1994, 209, citing further literature. See A. Bélis, D. Delattre, "A propos d'un contract d'apprentissage d'aulète," in: Papiri Documentari Greci (= Papyrologia Lupiensa 2), Galatina 1993, 105–162.
- 21 στάτορι: Cf. 2618.11 n.

22 Μεστασύτμιο(ς): Cf. G. Wagner and J. Quaegebeur, BIFAO 73 (1973) 41–60 A. Bernand, Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum III: La "méris" de Polémôn, Cairo 1981, 143; W. Spiegelberg, Recueil de Trayaux 26 (1904) 56; Rübsam; R. Schlichting, "Ohrenstelen", LdÄ IV 562–566; Wm. Brashear, Magica Varia, Brussels 1991, 50–51; F. Kayser, BIFAO 91 (1991) 207–217, citing P. Lambrechts and L. van den Berghe, "La divinité-oreille dans les religions antiques", Bull. Inst. Historique Belge de Rome 29 (1955) 177–197; F. Cenerini, "Mens Bona e Aures", Epigraphica 48 (1986) 99–113; F. Mayr, "Hören", *RAC* 15 (1991) 1023–1111.

25 μαχαιροφόροις: Cf. **2639**.9 n.

26 Σούχου: See E. Brovarski, "Sobek", LdÄ V 995–1031, esp. 1010 ff. (in the Greco-Roman period); Rübsam; **2215** (for various hypostases of the deity).

27 ὑπ\η/(ρέτη): See S. Strassi Zaccaria, "Le funzioni degli hyperetai nell' Egitto greco e romano", Congress 20 (Copenhagen), 504 ff.

31 Pap. ζ.

32 ["Ω]ρ[ου] is, of course, the restoration which most readily comes to mind. See Wm. Brashear, "Horos", RAC 16 (1992) 574–597.

### Col. III

τῆς Ἡρακλείδ/(ου) μερίδ/(ος): The appearance of this division of the Arsinoite nome as well as that of Suchos, patron god of the Fayum, (ll. 8 and 26), here on a papyrus extracted from mummy cartonnage which otherwise produced documents exclusively from the Herakleopolite nome, is surprising. Pap. /=(γίνεται)

### Translation

Another account of general expenditures (from the) things mentioned here below: to Tryphon for (the) library – through Antigonos, 500 drachmas; for goblets and half-kotylae (?),450 dr.; for -uthda(), 63 dr.; N.N., son of Alexandros, for a slave, Apellas, 200 dr.; to a priest of (the) crocodile (god), 72 (dr.); to the exegetes for the things below: ... for the 144 dr., 7 dr. and 3 obols; for chests, 12 dr.; ..., 8 dr.; ... 8 dr.; to N.N., son of Parnasson, 8 dr.; for aruras and half-pounds (?), 4 dr.; ... for honey ... owed ... for the covering of a stool, ... and 3 obols; to Conchinus, the harpist, 2 dr.; to Faustus's stator, 8 dr.; to priests of Mestasytmis, 8 dr.; to -makers, 4 dr.; ...; for (the) policemen of Tiro, epistrategos, ... dr.; to priests of Suchos, 8 dr.; to (the) epistrategos's steward for linen weavers' upkeep, 4 dr.; to (the) steward, Apellas, through Herakla-, for 2 keramia of wine, 6 dr.; to the same, 4 dr.; to priests of Isis and ...; to Horion's soldier, ... dr.; for (the) price of ...; total 1819 (drachmas) and 4 obols; ... for ...; from the Herakleides division, ... total ...; from (the nome) capital, 1,000 ... (drachmas).

# 2672 List of Priests

P. 25158 21.9 x 17.3 cm. Herakleopolites *ca.* 13/12

Left margin 2 cm.; otherwise broken off. The side with horizontal fibers preserves four line-ends in Greek and 15 in Demotic.

On the side with vertical fibers is a list of priests arranged according to their *phylai*, identical with **1196**.65–83, 101–123. Given the lack of any heading or concluding notes, it is impossible to say whether this list is a copy of **1196** or another, separate listing for a different year. **1196** preserves 17 names which are missing here between the last entry in col. I 18 and the first entry in col. II.

	Col. I	Col. II
	 Τοθοῆς 'Αρυώτης	 'Αρυώτ]ης υίὸς [
	'Αρσιῆσ[ι]ς 'Οννῶφρις	"Ωρου Παούθου [
	Σεμθ[ε]φίβις Τοθοῆτος	Πετεήτιος Πετο[σ].[
	Τοθοῆς υίὸς	Στοσωήτιος ἀδε[λφ]ὼς [
	(γίνονται) ἀνδρῶν λθ	<sup>8</sup> Ωρος Παταῦστος [
	γ¯φυλὴ	(γίνονται) ἀνδρῶν λδ
	Περῶυς Μούιτος	δ -φυλή
	"Ωρου υίὸς	Ψενὼς Πετειμ[ούθης
	Σχερεῖνις Μούιτος	Πετειμούθ[ης υίὸς
i	Άρυώτης υίὸς	Πετωσ[ι]ρις Π[ετειμούθου
	Μούιτος άδελφὼς	Πετειμούθ[ου υἰὸς
	'Αρυώτης Μούιτος	Νεχθεμμ[ῆς υίὸς
	Πετεήτις Νεκθεμής	"Ωρου ἀδελφὼς [
	Πετωσίρις άδελφὼς	Πετειμοῦ[θις Ψενῶστος
	'Οννῶφρις υἱὸς	ξΩρος ἀδελφ[ὼς
	[Τ]οθοῆς Οὐαφρῆτος	Πετεσ[î]ρις ἀδ[ελφὼς
	[Πετει]μού[θ]ης υίὸς	Ψενὼς υίὸς
	[Οὐαφρὴς ἀδελφ]ὼς	Πετωσίρις ἀ[δελφὸς
		'Αρυώτης Ψ[ενῶστος
		Ψενῶτος υ[ἰὸς
		Πετειμ[0]ὺθο[υ Πετοσῖρις
		Ψενὼς [ἀδ]ε[λφὸς
		Πετοσίρις] ἀδ[ελφὸς
		Βαβῦνχις] Νε[χθήμμεως
		][

#### Col. I

5

10

15

- 1–4 Discrepant name order in **1196**.65–69: Σεμθεφίβις Τοθοῆτος, Τοθοῆς υἰός, Πεταὺς  $\text{T}\alpha\theta[o]$ ῆτος χωλός, Τοθοῆς ΄Αρυώτης, ΄Αρσιῆσ[ι]ς ΄Οννῶφρις.
- 5 The sum in **1196**.70 is one less than here.
- 7 In **1196**.72 the name is spelled Περου. Cf. Φερῶυς in **2441**.10,16 and **2437**.29.
- 14 *et passim l.* ἀδελφός.
- 15 'Οννῶφρις: Cf. A. Gardiner in: Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia II,2, Berlin 1950, 44–53, and A. Rusch, RE 18,1, 483–484, on the name's etymology and significance.

2673

Col. II

1 ff. = 1196.101 f.

- 4 *l.* Στοτοήτιος: This is a quite unusual name in the Herakleopolite nome; cf. J. Barns, P. Oxv. 2412. introd. and note 1 there; 2441.108 n.
- Cf. 1196.112: Στέρος Νεχθεμμής υίός.
- 15 This person has already been accounted for in line 13.

### 2673 Accounts

P. 21285 28 x 21.5 cm.

Herakleopolites I c. B.C.

→ Margins: left 4 cm., upper 1.5–2 cm., lower (col. 1) 12 cm., (col. II) 1 cm. Vertical kollesis 2 cm. from the right edge. The discoloration of the papyrus along the left edge as well as two line ends of writing are two obvious indications that another sheet of papyrus has come unglued here. In other words, from the edge of the one kollesis to the edge of the other kollesis were ca. 18 cm.

This side of the papyrus bears an account listing men's names and amounts in artabs – as well as a poem (published in Congr. 18, vol. II 107–111.) Since the six lines of poetry occupy the space directly adjacent to the first column and the continuation of the account lies below the poem, presumably the poem was written on the papyrus before the account. Someone who later used the same sheet of papyrus was obliged to arrange his account around the already existing verses.

↓ Margins: upper 3.5–4 cm., lower (col. II) 3 cm., (col. III) 2 cm. On this side of the papyrus are lists of men's names with the occasional indication of their occupation. At the end of Col. II is a tally, presumably indicating the number of men in the preceding entries according to certain criteria unbeknown to us today.

The writing on both sides of the papyrus is in the cursive documentary style typical of the late first century B.C. It is difficult to tell whether the same hand was responsible for writing both lists.

#### → Col. I

 $\Pi \alpha \gamma /(\dot{\omega} v) \kappa \bar{\epsilon}$ Φαῆσις [....]υ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ....ι\ω/( ) — ἡγεμ\ο/(ν-) (πυροῦ) 'Αρχίβις ἀπελ(ε)ύθερος ιβL Πανθῆρις Τεφίβιος ιβ Μοίς ---Σιόις 'Ον\η/() κατοι\κ/() ἀν\η/() με() κα 'Hρακ\λ/() 'Έρμ\ω/(νος) ε Νααρ\ω/(ῦς) 'Αρυ\ώ/(του) σιτό\λ/(ογος) ιη 10 Πα\ῦ/(νι) α Ἰμού\θ/(ης) Ψεναμ(ούνιος) ιζ

	Χαγῶνις Ωγφις			
	[]\/() τοῦ α(ὖτοῦ) κατ\ο/(ικικοῦ) κ.\/ με()			
	δ Πααλ() νε\ω/(τέρου)			
	Πορμ\ο/() Ταλ\ω/()			
15	traces	(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐψξη		
		_		

7 = 11 \alpha, \( \mathrea{\pi} \) 12 πααλ 14 \( \mathrea{\pi} \)

#### Col. II

Lines 1-6: poetry

του..... δ Σαττίου υίῶν Πρώταρ\χ/(ος) Χομουεις Βερενίκη Ι..... δ Ίέραξ 'Ολύμπου  $\delta /$ \`Αρυώτης πρεσβ\ύ/(τερος) Τε\ε/() Διονύσιος Θεσιβελλ/() Διονύσιος ό\μ/(οίως) Θεσι\β/() 30 Πετεα.() Εστι...() Πετε...\ω/() ...... Πετεαρνις 'Αρ.....

ນໂຜິນ .....

traces of 5 lines

Νεχ ....

.....

Διονυ

Πᾶσις Πασι

- Cf. vso. line 76.
- Moίς: Cf. 1196 passim and P. Cornell 38.11. The line indicates his homonymous father (J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412.62 n.).
- κατοι\κ/(ικῶν) ἀν(δρῶν) με(τόχων)? A somewhat similar entry in line 12.
- Nααρ\ω/( $\hat{v}_{\varsigma}$ ): The same person in the verso account, line 74? See Vergote 11, on the name and its various forms.
- Ἰμού\θ/(ης): Cf. Vergote 9.

Ψεναμ(ούνιος): Cf. Vergote 13.

- Χαγῶνις Ωγφις: The names, if read correctly, would be new.
- 23 Σαττίου: addendum onomasticis?
- 28, 29 Θεσιβελλ/(): addendum onomasticis.

### ↓ Col. I

Ιθοής Πελώτος καὶ

]σούχο\υ/ κοσκιν\ε/(υτής)

```
45 ]σόις Πολβειος] ὁ ἀδε\λ/(φὸς)].υερρις Ἡρακλέωνος]οιστατο\υ/πς
```

]ως 'Αραβι..

]σι\ω/()

50

]. $\sigma\pi$ \/()

].ιας

traces of ca. 9 lines.

Col. II

Έρμίας Λήκιος

Παθιθμις κηπουρ\δ/(ς)

Πετοσορονν\ώ/(φρις) Παέτ\ο/(υ)

Παατθμις Καλλων\ε/()

65 Πανετβεθις Δεξίου

Έθρης ὁ σιτομ\έ/(τρης)

Τοθοῆς Γαμαλῶνος καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελλ/(φὸς) Κολεθεῖς καὶ 'Αρβῖγχ/(ις) ιρεγλ/()

75 Πετοσίρις Ἡρακλέ\ω/(νος)/ Πανθῆρις Ταφίβις(γίν.) ἀ.\/() κα

Col. III

Πετοσείρις Μολήο[υς Φάσεις χαλκο\χ/() καὶ οπ[

80 υίὸς [Νεφερῶς Σα.\η/() καὶ .[Πανθῆρις Κωφὸς [Πολέμων καὶ Ποσεί[δων-Κελεῆσις κατακ[

85 'Απολλώνιος Αλιλ[ Τεε..μετμις Κω\λ/()[ Πετενεφθεῖμ[ις
υἱὸς Πατηευς [
Πετεαρ[πι]βῆκις [
90 υἱὸς Δράκοντος [
Κέρδων καὶ υἰὸ[ς
...
υἱὸς Ἰμούθο\υ/ ...[

45 Πολ(ύ)βειος? or Pulvius?

61 Λήκιος: addendum onomasticis. Cf. **2577**.462.

63 Παέτ\ο/(υ): addendum onomasticis.

Σίλουρος [

65 Πανετβεῦις: Cf. Vergote 13.

66 'Εθρης: An unattested variant of 'Αθρης. Cf. Vergote 15.

67 Γαμαλῶνος: So far unattested in the papyri.

69 Κολεθεις: addendum onomasticis; variant of Kolluthis? 'Αρβίγχ/(ις): Cf. Vergote 7.
Pap. 1ρεγ

70 Αλιλλευ, Αλιανου?

74 Cf. line 9.

76 Πανθήρις Ταφίβις: The same man in rto. I 5.

77 Pap. αν\η/ = ἀν(δρῶν)?

79 Φάσεις: Cf. Vergote 13. χαλκο\χ/(οῦς)? addendum lexicis.

4 Κελεῆσις: Cf. J. Winnicki, JJP 23 (1993) 169-180, on names in Kαλ- and Kελ-.

85 Αλιλ[: Cf. line 70.

90 l. υἰὸς Δράκων?, Drakon being the son of the man registered in the previous entry.

# 2674 Accounts

P. 16948 A, B, 25185, 25186

Herakleopolites I c. B.C.

The identical script and the presumably identical content make it plausible that the following fragments all derive from the same account. The same script can be seen on 2672 and maybe 2673. Somewhat similar is the script of 2577. Thus it is possible that these fragments might either belong to that register or may have been written by the same scribe.

The fragments published here tally men (rarely women) and amounts of money (?). Where a particular man's father is not known, his occupation is given.

P. 16948 A

30

Αθησις

'Ατρῆς Παήσε\ω/(ς) β

Μούθης υίὸς

```
26.3 x 16 cm.
Upper and lower margins ca. 2 cm.
            Col. I
           ].[ ] α
            ]γυ() ὑ\π/(ὲρ) Πεκῦσις α
                     "Αδρ\α/(στος) Κρ\η/()
            ]νντις
       5
                    Ψενατῦ\μ/(ις) Παν\ε/()
            ]ληννορ
                            α
                 ] vioì
                            β
                            - α
                            -\alpha
       10
                             ]α
                             \alpha
                             \alpha
                             \alpha
                            ]\alpha
                            ]α [β]
       15
                            ]α
                            ]α
           Col. II
                                             \alpha
                                             ]α
       20
                                             ]α
       25
                                             ]α
                                             ]\alpha
                              ].. γερια[.] α
            'Ονν..\alpha[...]\alphaς
                                           α
            'Αμμην [άδε]λφοῦ
                                          α
```

α

```
<sup>?</sup>Ωρος Τ....σαις
                                α
35 'Ορσαῆσι
                                α
         Χαβισου
    υί[ὸς] Τικρας
                                β
    ή γυνή Χ...α
                                α
         Ἡρακλέως λι\ν/(όυφος)
         'Ατρῆς Μαχορί\τ/(ης)
    Πεκιτρις λιν(ό)υφος
                                β
    Φαῆσις
                                α
    Σπάρτακος
                                α
    Πρ[
                         ]\/()[
    ..[
45
    (γίν.) ..[....].ς
    ό\μ/(οίως) θ
    Col. III
              A[
              "Αδρ[α(στος)
     Ήρακλῆς Ταη[
         Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) [
    Ταορμάστης [..]ρα.[
     Κυτᾶς κηπουρός [
         Αναπις
55
     Μέλας Μέλας
                                 \alpha
     υἱὸς Τανῖτος λιν(ό)υφ\ο/(ς) α
             Πετεχῶ(ν) Μαχορ(ίτης)
     Στρουθός
                                 α
         υίὸς
     Πανθῖχις
     Πετεχῶν Παμῶς
                                 α
     Παμ[.]ς ἠπητὴς α
     "Αδραστ(ος) Ορανητ( )
65
                    ....νος [
     Πετεχ\\hat{\omega}/(v).[
     [Πετ]εχ\ ω̂/(ν).[
     ca. 5 lines missing
     (γίν.) [
```

Col. IV: 'Ορφ[, Βελ[, / Πετ[, .[

P. 16948 B 18 x 25 cm.

Broken-off on three sides; the right margin measures 6 cm.

# Col. I

	][		α	
	Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Μα	λκατ\ο/(υ)	α	
75	Πααρις άδελφὸ	ς	α	
	Πολέμων Δημητ	τρ(ίου)	α	
	Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) 'Αρ	τέμωνος	α	
	Ήρακλῆς Ψιξα		α	
	"Αδραστ\ο/(	ς) Πετεπ\α/()		
80	'Από]λλων κέρδ	δις	α	
	]ράνου		α	
		]()	α	
		ἀδε]λφὸς	α	
		]του	α	
85		ποι]μὴν	α	
		] ἀδελφ(ὸς)	α	
		Πο]λίανθος	α	
		]ηρα	α	
		]ασευς	α	
90		]νιδαρ\η/()	α	

# Col. II

Three line ends showing *alpha* as the amount are succeeded by a lacuna of at least four lines.

```
.[
Π.[
"Αδρ\α/(στος) .[..]..[.]
'Αρυώ.[
95 Νουμᾶς γναφ[έυς
Πετενεᾶπις [
'Άμμώνιος
```

Πολ[.....]ς Ανι\ω/() α
Πομμοῦς ποιμὴν α
100 Σενθεῦς Πακάιτος (γίν.) ις
(γίν.) ὙΕλλ\η/(νες) qβ πα... ὁ\μ/(οίως) ς
καὶ τ\ῶ/(ν) αδ\η/() λα.... (γίν.) ψπα.
(γίν.) τό\π/(ου) [.]ψ[ ]...[

P. 25185 17.8 x 18.8 cm.

Margins: left 1.5–2 cm. *Kollesis* 3.4 cm. from the left edge. There is a line of Demotic on the upper edge. On the back are traces of eleven lines in a column.

δ

# Col. I

	'Επεὶφ	
105	'Ονν\ῶ/(φρις) Πνεφ\ο/(ρῶτος	ς) δ
	/ Νεχθνῆβις	δ
	/ [] Μέλλα/(νος)	δ
	/[ ]	δ
	[	δ
110	Δεη.[]	δ
	Τήλεφ(ος)	δ
	$\Pi \alpha v[.]. \varsigma \Pi \alpha. \alpha/()$	δ
	'Ονν\ $\hat{\omega}$ /(φρις)ατε $\bar{\mu}$	δ
	Ιμ\σ/() Σώτου $\delta  \mbox{ά\lambda}/(\lambda \alpha \iota)$	ις
115	Κάστωρ	η
	Ίμούθης Νεφ( )	δ
	/ Μυσ $\theta$ $\hat{\alpha}$ ς	δ
	/ $\Sigma$ ισ\ό/(ις) ΄Αριθρ\ή/(ους)	δ
	Πετεαμ\ο/( $\hat{v}$ νις) 'Αρ\χ/()	δ
120	$\text{Panetbe}(\hat{\textbf{vis}}) \text{ neva/(teros)}$	δ
	'Ηρακλ\ῆ/(ς) [	]
	/[].[	
	<del></del>	
	Cal II	
	Col. II	\$ 200 /(0 arr) 15
	Σεμθ\έ/(υς) Ιμ\σ/()	$\delta  \tilde{\alpha}  \lambda / (\lambda \alpha_1)  i \zeta$
	Στοβ\α/() 'Αρυ\ώ/(του)	δ

125 / Διονύσι(ος) Πεσ\σ/()

	[]λων		δ	
	'Αθε\μ/(μεὺς) Ιμ\σ/()()		η	
	Men/c/( $\hat{\eta}$ s) Im/s/() $\eta$ [] $\mathring{\alpha}$ / $\lambda$	/(λαι) [		
	spatium 3 cm.			
	/ 'Ονν\ῶ/(φρις) Ε.μ.()	δ	δ	].
130	/ $I\mu\o/()$ Θηβαιστ $\eta/()$	δ	δ	
	Κολλλ () Σισόις	η		
	Σισόις Νεφ\ω/()	η	δ	$\Pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \/()$
	/ 'Αρσι\ $\hat{\eta}$ /(σις) ἀδε\ $\hat{\lambda}$ /(φὸς) τ	ελ\η/() η	δ	
	Φᾶς Φᾶσος	η		
135	/[ ]\/()	δ	δ	

P. 25186

Frag. 1: 11.5 x 13.5 cm. Upper margin: 1–1.5 cm. Kollesis 5 cm. from the left edge.

Col. I			Col. II	
		145	] 'Αδρ\ά/(στου)[ ]οπε[ ]. °Ωρος 'Αντ.[	/α α
				α
i]σιονό\μ/(ος)			pop operation	~
].τος	α	150	'Αμολῆς	α
]αβήους	α		υίὸς	
] χήρ\α/ ] .   Νη/() [			Λατηις Λεωσ\α/() Καιπα ἀδελφὸς ανπηοιτι	α
		155	Νεκθ[] ἠπητ\ή/(ς) [ Μαν[ρῆς	
			145 	[Πετ]εχ\ῶ/(ν) ''Ωρο[(υ)] τέκτο\ν  145 ] 'Αδρ\ά/(στου)[  ]οπε[ ].να/() .[ ''Αδρ\α/(στος) 'Αμμωνέως ] Μαχορ(ίτης) [ '' Ωρος Οραμουλις  ἰ]σιονό\μ/(ος) ].τος α 150 'Αμολῆς ]αβήους α υἰὸς ]χήρ\α/ Αατηις Λεωσ\α/() Καιπα ]. άδελφὸς [νη/() [ ανπηοιτι 155 Νεκθ[] ἠπητ\ή/(ς) [

```
Frag. 2: 9 x 14. Broken-off on all four sides.
```

	Col. I			Col. II	
				]χος [	
				$]$ χ\ω/() 'Ηρακλ[	•
	]. $\mu\iota\delta/()$	α		Σενθεῦς Ἰχνολύκου	α
	]. Κολλ\ω/() [ ]		165	Πομβ\ῶ/(ς) Πτολεμαίου	α
	]\/() Av\/()	α		Σουῆρι(ς) χήρα	α
160	].ος			Φύλακος 'Αρμιῦσις	α
	].\/()			άδελφοὶ	β
				Κορσμᾶς []χος	α
			170	.τεος α[]μας .[	
				['Ε]ρμο[ἀδελ]φὸς [	
				] δι [	

Frag. 3: 8.3 x 8.5 cm. Lower margin: 0.5 cm. Col. I: traces of six line ends (lines 174–179).

Frag. 4: 10.5 x 12.5 cm. Kollesis 4.5 cm. from the right edge. Lower margin: 0.5 cm. Col. I: traces of six line ends tallying various sums: ],[, ],  $\iota$ , ],  $\epsilon$ , (190)]  $q\beta$ , ],..., ]... 'Apµη. To the right of this and separated by a curving stroke of ink: ( $\gamma$ iv.) 'AΣ[,  $\tau$ \pi[.

```
Col. II

.[

.[

.[

.[

.[

.[

.[

.[.]αι [

Πετεχνῶ/(ν) Σιδήρου [

......

Πτολεμαῖ⟨ο⟩ς Κ[

200 (γίν.) .[

[ὁ]νμ/(οίως)[
```

Frag. 5: 9.5 x 12.5 cm. Lower margin 0.5 cm. Col. I: traces of six line ends; line 204: Πομσακλω/() α, line 205: ].ις θεαγὸς α. For this priest see Otto, Priester I 95.1, II 152.2; Roberts, JEA 20 (1934) 23; Rübsam 111; H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 86–87; P. Turner 17.5; Schönborn, Pastophoren 5; J. Whitehorne, P. Oxy. 3974 comm. Col. II: traces of five line beginnings; in line 212: Θεανοβάστι(ς) – cf. **2577**.517.

Frag. 6: 9 x 6 cm. Upper margin: 2.5 cm.

Frag. 7: 5.5 x 6 cm.

```
]......[
220 [...].ίσσου [
Μεσ() Καλαθύτι(ο)ς [
υἰοὶ β
Μενεμφος Νεβ....[
Καλουτου [
225 ἀδ[ελφὸς
]ωτι[
```

Frag. 8: 7.5 x 8.5 cm. *Kollesis* 3 cm. from the left edge. Lower margin: 0.8 cm. Col. I: faint line end traces.

- 3 Κρ\η/(κίτης): Cf. **2577**.72 n.
- 29 'Aμμην: The name, if read correctly, would be new.
- 31 Aθησις: The name, if read correctly, would be new.
- 35 'Ορσάησι: A variant of 'Αρσαῆσις. Cf. Vergote 9.
- 36 Χαβισου: add. onomasticis?
- 37 Τικρας: add. onomasticis?
- 41 Πεκιτρις: add. onomasticis?
- 53 Ταορμάστης: add. onomasticis?
- 4 Κυτᾶς: Cf. Κυτῆς.
- 55 Αναπις: add. onomasticis?
- 66 Ι. Μέλας Μέλανος.
- 61 Πανθιχις: add. onomasticis?
- 62 Πετεχῶν: Cf. Vergote 14.
- 64 Ορανητ(); add. onomasticis?
- 74 Μαλκατ\o/(υ): add. onomasticis?
- 75 Πααρις: add. onomasticis?
- 78 Ψιξα: add. onomasticis?
- 80 Ι. γέρδιος.
- 95 Cf. 2577.48.
- 100 Πακάιτος: add. onomasticis?
- 106 Cf. Vergote 7, 10, on the different Greek renditions of this Egyptian name.
- 114  $I_{\mu} \nabla / ()$ : This unattested name appears frequently in this account.
- 118 'Aριθρ\ή/(ους): A variant of 'Aριτρῆς.
- 119 Πετεαμ\ο/(ῦνις): Cf. Vergote 5, 14.

'Aρ\χ/(): Cf. Vergote 7.

- 120 Πανετβε(ῦις): See J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412 introd., on this characteristically Herakleopolitan name, and **2599**.2 n.
- 128 Mev $\chi$ /( $\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ ): Cf. Vergote 10.
- 129f. The double digits undoubtedly record two separate payments.
- 131 Σισόις: Cf. Vergote 19.
- i]σιονόψ/(ος): "Inhaber und Verwalter eines der Isis geweihten Privatheiligtums", Otto II 73.4; F. Ll. Griffiths ap. Wilcken, UPZ II 177.20 n., derives it from the Egyptian 'n-wwe "bringer of news". Cf. P. Pestman in: P. Mil. Vogl. III, p. 186: in-w3w3j "consigliatore;" id., P. Tor. Amenothes, p. 122: in-ww "chi porta consigli;" and P. Lugd.-Bat. XIV, p. 54 n. 61. H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp 105–106 and Prosopographia Ptolemaica III, nos. 6902–6916, give lists of isionomoi.
- 140 |αβήους: Cf. Mayser I,2, §64, pp. 41–42; **2577**.259.
- 144 *l*. τέκτων.
- 149 Οραμουλις: add. onomasticis?
- 152 Λατηις Λεωσ\α/(): add. onomasticis?; cf. **2577**.337.
- 164 Σενθεῦς Ἰχνολύκου: Cf. **2577**.97,469, for the father's name which is new.
- 165 Πομβνῶ/(ς): A variant of Φομβῶς.
- 166 Σουῆριζς): See J. van der Vliet, Aegyptus 71 (1991) 229, on this name.
- 167 Φύλακος is attested in Pape-Benseler and 2577.344.
- 169 Κορσμας: add. onomasticis.
- 181 Cf. 2577.143,482.
- 184 'Αννεμμ{μ}εύς: add. onomasticis?
- 199 Πτολεμαίζος?, Πτολεμαίς?
- 212 Θεανοβάστι(ς): Cf. **2577**.517 n.
- 216 Pap. f = (τετρώβολον)
- 228 Χῶλος Βαστ.[: Cf. **2577.**25.

### **Indices**

# I Titulatures and Regnal Years of Augustus

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Καΐσαρ Αὐτοκράτωρ Θεὸς Υἰός 2589.4

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δ 2599.10
ε 2590 II 16
ζ 2650.8
ι 2655.24
ια 2600.8
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2558.10, Έπεὶφ λ. 2658.10, Έπεὶφ . 2661.35

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τῆ κε 2661.11 τῆ ις 2665.3 σεβαστή 2604.20 πεντακαιδεκάτη 2618.20

uncertain

Me.( )  $\beta$  2613.10 ]1 2639.12 [...] \( \seta / \text{( ) 18 2643.29 } \) ] \( \text{...... } \epsilon 2655.24

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(\* denotes unattested names)

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## Addenda et Corrigenda

**2577** app. crit. read: 13 et passim  $\acute{\mathbf{q}}$ , (delete 33) read 34 αδρά, 455 read 457, read 510 -ητό, 515 -ωφρ

**2590** = SB XVI 12312. Col. I 15: [ἢ τἀναντί]α

**2592**.6 n.:Cf. J. Bodel, Graveyards and Groves (=American Jnl. of Anc. History 11), Cambridge, Mass. 1994, on sacred groves.

**2599**.17 *l*. ἀμελείαι.

2661.29 n.: Cf. B. Kramer, AFP 41 (1995) 217-231, on wood and timber.

**2669**.9,13 ὑπαγκώνιον: Cf. O. Claudianos 174.4 n. and p. 78.

See on the excavations in Abusir el Melek: F. Knatz, O. Rubensohn, ZÄS 41 (1904) 1-21.